A Time To Be Black *Bruce Detwiler*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

September 17, 1966, 35 cents

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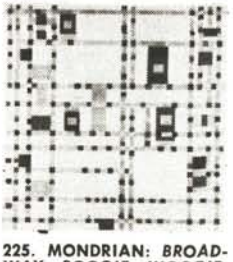

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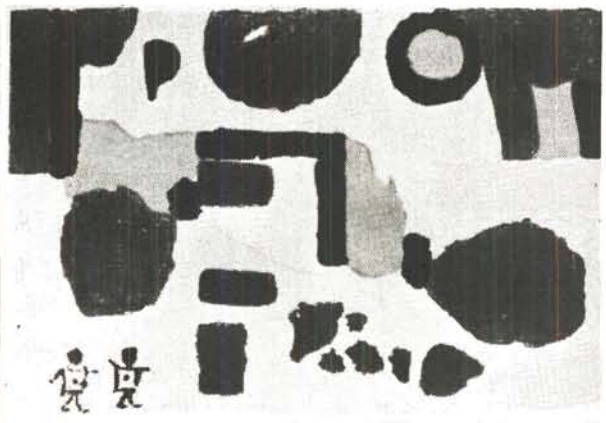

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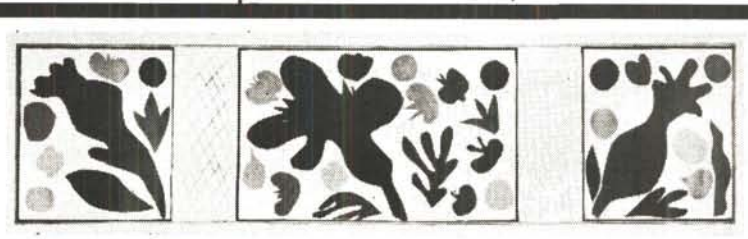

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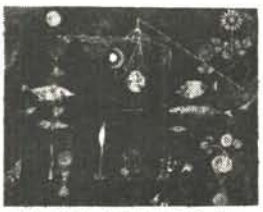

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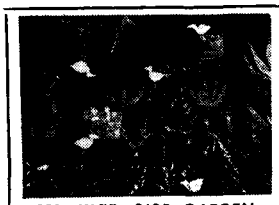

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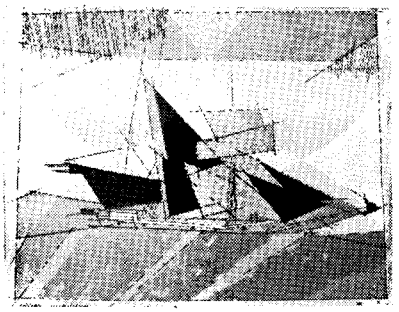

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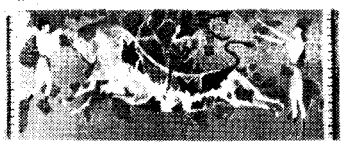

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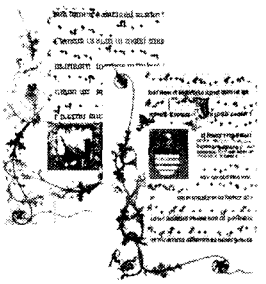

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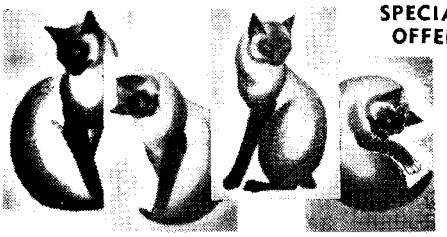

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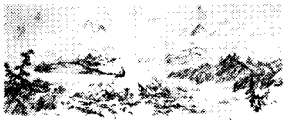

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Ghetto and Garrison

★ To understand the Negro city problem, you have to realize how most big American cities are now developing. There is the downtown business-amusement area, generally close to the factory area. This is surrounded by a noose of slums – increasingly Negro ghettoes. And beyond that are the white garrison suburbs; segregated, of course.

To get downtown, the white commuters have to go through, or over, or under, the ghetto which, of course, they don't see. Factories are tending to decentralize into the suburbs, which means that Negroes have to travel farther and farther outward to get to low-skilled jobs; Negro women meanwhile travel to the suburbs to scrub floors. (You see these two queer tides coming and going, crossing each other, daily.)

This creates a "commuter crisis," described by Harvard economist John F. Kain in the current issue of *Challenge*. City officials meet the jam by constructing heavily subsidized peak hour highway capacity, or heavily subsidized transit systems. As the ghetto noose expands inside, whites have to commute farther to get into the central city, and Negroes have to travel farther to jobs in outlying areas. Public transit in the ghetto is normally inadequate. (The McCone inquiry cited it as a prime reason for unemployment in Watts.) The trip from ghetto to suburban job is normally difficult, costly, time-wasting.

Mr. Kain has a nice statistical table showing population changes, 1950-60, in 11 big cities. Into the "central city" of Chicago, for example, have poured 320,000 Negroes; out of it have emigrated 399,000 whites. The "suburban ring" of Chicago, meanwhile, has added 1,076,000 whites; only 34,000 Negroes.

This situation erupts in riots, approaching revolution. The garrison suburbs buy guns and blame the rioters. Los Angeles Mayor Yorty, for example, protested to the Ribicoff Senate committee against "politicians running around and making promises which they cannot keep," to the ghetto dwellers. "It's created an intolerable situation for the police," he complained. Ronald Reagan agrees. He blames Watts on social workers' promises.

Latest unemployment figures show white unemployment down (3.4 percent); Negro unemployment up (8.2 percent). The gap widens. Unemployment for teen-age Negroes is 27 percent. They're the ones who throw rocks at motorists. (You would, too, if you lived between street corner and jail.)

So now we come to the Senate opposition to the housing section of the civil rights bill. It is led by Republican Everett Dirksen and the Southern segregationists. The bill has been diluted, but it would still outlaw segregation in about 40 percent of the nation's living quarters. If you owned an apartment house with more than four apartments, you could not forbid a Negro to rent a suite. If you built a house for sale you could not turn down a legitimate Negro buyer. In short, it would breach the ghetto by scattering Negroes out through the garrison suburbs of American communities. Revolutionary? Yes, in essence; we think Dirksen is right in that. It gives us a choice: surrender the garrison, or more riots. Which thought do we hate most?

Insurance Squeeze

★ Life insurance is a $30-billion-a-year industry which recruits, exploits and ejects 95 percent of its 110,000 "agents" each year. We hadn't realized how neat a trick it all is till we read *Pay Now, Die Later*, James Gollin, $5.95, Random House. Gollin writes coolly, as an insider on America's richest, strangest, private enterprise. The recruitment thing is called the American Agency System. The huge companies don't actually employ these salesman innocents. They are hooked by branch office managers, who lure them in by glowing advertising: "Sales, Prudential Insurance Co. – Immediate salary and training. $6,000-$9,000." In legal terms, they are independent contractors. Once in, the sheep loses its wool. They are "agents" now, they are told, and should go out to sell insurance to friends, relatives, acquaintances. Every contact they have is squeezed out of them. Discouraged, they realize soon that the "salary" is really a deduction in advance of future possible commissions. They use up their easy-mark contacts. Ninety percent of the agents leave business within 90 days.

This is a queer system of white-collar exploitation! With this kind of salesmen it's no wonder that one out of every four policies lapses within 13 months; an estimated out-of-pocket loss of $2-billion annually. Yet the industry is so gigantic that it invests $150 million every working day ($34 billion in 1964). Total assets, over $150 billion. It's just about the biggest money power in the nation. One guess is that 1,000 men control the investment of the 200 top companies. High time, we think, that some congressional committee took a look at it.

President's Club

★ There's nothing that sends a Republican politician faster into a Democrat's arms than proposing to reform campaign contributions. After election, both hastily drop the subject. For years reformers have suggested tax exemption for small contributions to either party and a realistic ban on big contributions; most politicians resist.

Now the Democrats have come up with a real gusher, the President's Club. You are eligible if you contribute $1,000 a year. You get a fancy Diners' Club-type card, and get to shake Mr. Johnson's hand. Best of all is the opportunity to say casually, "Didn't think old Lyndon was looking so well last week when I dropped in." That's worth a grand, to anybody.

Republicans angrily charge that the club promotes fat contracts in the big city. Maybe so; they haven't proved it.

Stop Press: "Giving business the 7 percent investment tax subsidy is like paying a child to eat candy." – TRB, August 13.

"I recommend that the Congress make the 7 percent investment credit inoperative." – President Johnson, Sept. 8.

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Vietnam Elections

What this week's elections in South Vietnam ought to lead to is a government in Saigon that won't blackmail this country into refusing either to negotiate, or sponsor negotiations, with the Viet Cong's political arm, the National Liberation Front. For that has been the situation hitherto. Ever since the Kennedy administration permitted Diem to be assassinated in 1963, successive governments in Saigon have been too weak to dare to contemplate negotiations with the Front, whether conducted directly, Vietnamese confronting Vietnamese, or even with strong American participation. Knowing this, Hanoi has been encouraged by Saigon's fearful assessment of its own chances of survival to demand that the Front be acknowledged as the "sole representative" of the South Vietnamese people. That was and is a pretty high-handed claim, and the Johnson administration has always pointed to it as irrefutable evidence that there can't be negotiations because "the other side" won't talk, except entirely on its own terms. On this side, though, all attempts to quarry out of officialdom a specific willingness to negotiate with the Front have failed. The utmost that has ever been conceded, even at those times when the two sides have seemed to be a trifle less far apart than usual, has been that in the event of some sort of talks taking place, some Front representatives could be physically present. So much the United States has been prepared to permit. But the concession, such as it was, has always been more than the current government in Saigon could stomach. General Ky, for instance, the present prime minister of South Vietnam, has vehemently declared, time and again, that he won't negotiate with the National Liberation Front, and won't let anyone else negotiate with it on his behalf. And, taking due note of the state of Saigon's nerves, Washington has concluded, not always regretfully, that the notion of negotiations with the Viet Cong had best not be pursued too energetically, lest the whole game be lost through the collapse of the only non-communist South Vietnamese government we've got.

But now this is beginning to change, for two reasons. First, American soldiers and airmen, sailors and Marines, are doing more and more of the actual fighting. The shockingly high South Vietnamese desertion rate from the army, the hundreds of thousands of South Vietnamese men who manage never to be drafted, make the South Vietnamese military a factor of diminishing potency – and Ky's is a military government. Second, elections plainly indicate at least the possibility of the Ky regime being replaced at some stage by a civilian government

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of some kind. Ky hopes, just as plainly, to put this off for a long time. It may happen much sooner than he reckons. Once elected, a "constitution-making" assembly, its powers and its length of life strictly controlled by Ky, may well turn into something quite different. When Ky tells it that the time has come for it to depart, some members, perhaps quite a lot of them, may insist on behaving like real legislators, the true representatives of the people. At such a juncture, could this country, which has talked so much about bringing democracy to South Vietnam, stand by Ky while he had the defiant deputies arrested and dragged from the assembly hall for resisting his fiat? The United States has to be prepared for those possibilities. No doubt many, perhaps a great majority of South Vietnamese are anti-communist. But it is perfectly indisputable that the overwhelming majority are now exceedingly war-weary. What they want chiefly is an end to the fighting. And the only way to achieve that, other than a quite impossible military victory by either side, is through negotiations with the Viet Cong.

The latter may refuse to negotiate except on impossible terms, and so may Hanoi. That's one of the possibilities this country has to be prepared for, and hitherto it's about the only one we *have* prepared for. Nevertheless there are others. One way to estimate the chances of getting negotiations going is to ask what everyone is really after. Most of the people of South Vietnam, and no doubt North Vietnam, too, want peace. The Viet Cong could of course have that tomorrow by surrendering (so could Saigon) but in fact won't settle for less than a share in the government. Whether they really won't settle for anything less than being the whole of the government, only negotiating with them can determine. Hanoi has said more than once that it's prepared to abide by the terms of the 1954 Geneva Conference (which it alleges that we and President Diem broke, and which we say Hanoi and the Viet Cong did).

"Sh-h-h! We're not supposed to be in Thailand."

The Geneva agreement provided for cessation of the fighting that was then going on in Indochina, and division of Vietnam into two parts, pending elections to decide for or against reunification. President Johnson has said he too would be willing to get back to the formula for peace that Geneva produced; and Washington almost certainly would put up with a Laotian type of coalition government in South Vietnam now, but daren't say so out loud, because of Ky. The Chinese are obviously in a blue funk that there is going to be a Geneva settlement, connived at by Russia; but even the Chinese at least went as far, last week, as to assure Washington, via the Japanese, that they don't want to get in a war with the United States, and don't really believe that this country wants to get in a war with them: "Diplomatic talks with the US are not ruled out," said Foreign Minister Chen Yi.

None of this should appear to a rational eye as entirely hopeless. Quite to the contrary, we oughtn't to allow the main chances to be obscured by comparative irrelevancies, like Mr. Johnson declaring in reply to General de Gaulle that he won't set up a timetable for US withdrawal from South Vietnam until the North Vietnamese stop their "vicious aggression," and Hanoi inevitably replying in kind. This game of "after you" is meaningless. But some things are worse. These include suggestions that negotiations are no longer worth considering, because now the US is at last in a position to "win" the war by purely military means. General de Gaulle suspects this is what President Johnson really believes. If he's right, Johnson's wrong. Another wrong direction is US policy in Thailand. Assistant Secretary of State William P. Bundy admitted publicly last week that the American military presence in Thailand is great (at least 25,000 men); and nobody in the State Department or the Pentagon denies that it is continuing to grow. There are four major US air bases in Thailand, from which bombing attacks are made on targets in both Laos and Vietnam. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will hold open hearings to determine

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whether "another Vietnam" is now in the making in Thailand. If it is, it ought not to be. Coleridge's ancient mariner found life quite difficult enough with only one albatross tied round his neck; we should not tie two round ours.

By far the best way to fulfill this country's treaty obligation to Thailand is to strive for the kind of negotiated peace in Vietnam that will keep all Southeast Asia peaceful, and preferably neutral – including Thailand. Mr. Bundy said last week that he and other Americans "didn't understand" what was meant by neutralization of Southeast Asia. That's strange. One American seemed to understand it well in 1954, when the Geneva Conference made neutralization the basis of the Geneva accords; and he warmly assailed the Eisenhower administration for reneging from it. He declared that because of Eisenhower and Dulles, "American foreign policy has never in all its history suffered such a stunning reversal. . . . We stand in clear danger of being left naked and alone in a hostile world." The perceptive American was, of course, Lyndon B. Johnson.

Safety Standards

The fight for an automobile safety law clearly showed the need for the government to be vigorous in setting and enforcing standards, and not just for autos. It will have to be vigilant. For instance, Congress will be asked next year to give a federal charter to a new organization called the United States of America Standards Institute. It's an outgrowth of the old American Standards Association which coordinated and approved the standard-setting work of various trade associations and technical bodies. A nonprofit organization, it wants to bring together these associations with spokesmen from the government and the consuming public, in an effort to set voluntary standards by consensus. Its creation was originally proposed in a report prepared for the Commerce Department last year.

Its supporters argue that such an organization is a major step forward. But there is an unresolved question – should the government become involved with industrial trade associations in the setting of standards which it may later find itself having to challenge? This could be embarrassing. For the new institute has approved all the standards endorsed by the American Standards Association, and one of these covers safety features for natural gas and petroleum pipelines. These voluntary standards now are under sharp attack by the Federal Power Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and in the Senate, where it is said that the pipes are too thin, poorly welded together, buried too close to the surface and may momentarily explode.

Filtered Cigarettes

In his recent study of filter-tip cigarettes at New York State's Cancer Research Center, Dr. George E. Moore made it perfectly clear that no filter is effective in trapping harmful tars and nicotine. The only real protection against getting cancer or heart disease from cigarettes is to stop smoking.

But the tests he ran on nine brands did show that some filters are a bit better than others in catching the deadly ingredients. And this may have the useful side effect of spurring tobacco companies into more spirited competition in search of a safer cigarette, even if there is no such thing as a safe one.

Heretofore, the cigarette makers have just ducked the health problem by agreeing, through a trade organization called the Advertising Code, not to use tar and nicotine statements in advertising. Publicly, they said this information was meaningless. Privately, they were relieved at not having to begin a competition which would necessarily parade their product's liabilities constantly before the public eye. They went breezily along talking about good taste sensations, advertising on children's television programs, and selling more cigarettes than ever.

Then, last spring, P. Lorillard suddenly quit the Advertising Code organization and marketed a new brand called True, which it claimed was lower in tar and nicotine than other brands. Dr. Moore's study is a boost for True. It had less tar and nicotine than the nine other brands. (Some of the filter cigarettes he tested actually gave the smoker a bigger dose of tars and nicotine than regulars of the same brand. Filtered Pall Malls and Chesterfields are two examples.) P. Lorillard lost no time in tripling production of True cigarettes and hiring an advertising agency to put the study around.

Senator Warren Magnuson, chairman of the Commerce Committee, which drew up the cigarette labeling law, wants to make sure the industry is not avoiding competition on the health issue. He is asking the Federal Trade Commission to look into the tobacco companies' advertising policies to see whether they are deceptive. And he is sponsoring a bill that would require tar and nicotine content of the cigarettes to be printed on the package.

Two years after the Surgeon General brought in his grim report on smoking and health, the government still does shamefully little to warn the public about cigarettes. It ought, at the very least, to be insisting that the television networks, which carry a considerable amount of the cigarette advertising, carry a like amount of public service bulletins, urging people to stay away from cigarettes.

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Death of Apartheid?

Whether South Africa's assassinated prime minister, Hendrik Verwoerd, is succeeded by Theophilus Donges, Ben Schoeman or Balthazar Vorster won't make much immediate difference to the Boer republic's policy of white supremacy. All the country's Nationalist Party leaders are as fanatical on that subject as Verwoerd was, which is to say they support, and will strive to promote, the kind of race policy that George Wallace would in Alabama, if that state and the federal government let him. In South Africa, no barrier exists to doing so. Verwoerd's party rules unchallenged. There is no legal black opposition to it, and the white opposition is both fractional and fractured. Even Verwoerd's murderer, it turned out, far from being an opponent of white supremacy was a deranged "poor white" who had fretted himself into believing that Verwoerd wasn't being racist enough. This delusion may have been brought to a fatal head by Verwoerd permitting himself to be photographed, smiling, alongside a black politician. The much-publicized picture had apparently been intended as the first step of a campaign to try to persuade other states in Africa that white-ruled South Africa wasn't as black as it had been painted. South Africa has no proper relations with any other self-governed country on the African continent, with the dubious exception of Rhodesia. Verwoerd, it seems, had hoped, belatedly, to change this. It was a drastic step to take, for hitherto leading members of his party had always been at grotesque pains to avoid being seen, at least by the faithful, in anything that might be construed as a friendly relationship with a colored person. Thus for example, while South Africa remained a member of the British Commonwealth, South African leaders attending Commonwealth conferences in London were invariably careful *not* to be photographed cheek by jowl with people like Nehru. This, however, became increasingly difficult, as more and more colored Commonwealth countries became independent, and sent colored representatives to the Commonwealth talks, where the prevailing hue got steadily duskier. This well may have precipitated South Africa's decision to get out of the Commonwealth altogether. Verwoerd's plan may have fatally backfired, and he may have delivered too great a shock to his murderer's unstable emotions, when he permitted himself to be photographed chatting amicably to a black man. If so, it is a grisly indication of the depth and degree of the racial phobia that grips most of the white South Africans.

The death of Verwoerd, nevertheless, may be a significant milestone on South Africa's course. His eight years of power were devoted very largely to trying to implement the theory of apartheid, or strict separation of South Africa's several races, of which Verwoerd was the chief architect. The attempt was a failure. Try as he and his henchmen did to classify and docket every single individual by race (including the unfortunate "Cape Coloureds" who are a racial mixture of Caucasian, African, Malayan and other strains), and then completely segregate them in their homes, jobs, schools, hospitals, sports, theatres, trains and buses, on the day Verwoerd died last week there were probably more nonwhites living and working in "white areas," relative to the number of whites there, than ever before. The reason was quite simple; the country's (booming) industries and mines can't exist for five minutes without the nonwhites. As long as gold, diamonds and uranium, fruit, wool and tobacco are salable exports, and unless South Africa undergoes a violent racial explosion, this is likely to continue. And for as long as South Africa expands economically, apartheid will continue to fail. As this awkward fact slowly impinges on the white South Africans of Boer descent who are assuming an increasing share in the direction of the country's economy, the chances of a change in course may increase. It's probably up to the Afrikaners rather than English South Africans, because the Afrikaners are a majority of the whites, have been the most unbending about segregation, but are also the most religious. The Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa certainly does not lack a conscience, even toward "nonwhites." Its devout congregations have so far managed to muffle *their* conscience, by pretending that apartheid is not white supremacy at all but aims at producing separate but equal communities. If racial separation is in fact quite impossible to achieve in South Africa, as indeed it is, then the entire apartheid structure falls to the ground. Verwoerd managed to turn apartheid into a false religion and his removal may break the spell for at least some thoughtful Afrikaners and church leaders.

Open City

Chicago

"End the Slums" sounds like a more tangible goal than "Freedom Now" or "Black Power," but in Chicago it has turned out to be just as rhetorical. Martin Luther King's brave marches through white suburbs have ended, at least for the moment, and the slums are still very much in existence. The 10-point agreement between King and city officials which closed the campaign will do little to remake Chicago into the "open city" King promised when he moved north last winter.

Under the agreement, the Real Estate Board will drop its opposition to a state fair-housing law. The city Human Relations Commission will stiffen enforcement of

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Chicago's own fair-housing ordinance. The city and county agencies will try to find ways of dispersing Negroes into white areas outside the huge ghettoes. Banks and lending agencies say they will give equal service to Negroes and whites. Clergymen will preach racial amity and plug fair housing.

As a very short-term compromise – an excuse for a rest in the marches and a way out of a potentially violent situation – the agreement has its merits. But it is obviously no major victory for King's Chicago Freedom Movement. Even his staff workers admit that the weak city fair-housing statute is barely worth enforcing; that there is little hope of a state law; that the Human Relations Commission has no comprehension of the extent of poor Negroes' problems; that access to mortgage money is not nearly as important as direct subsidies of money. To "End the Slums" will take a massive effort across a wide front of social policy. Neither the local nor federal governments are willing to undertake that effort, and their reluctance is reflected and reinforced by the hostility of the white community. King has hardly begun to do the work which could force the necessary basic changes.

"The problem," King's Chicago project director, James Bevel, said, "is the follow-up." Reaction to the marches should stimulate his attempts to form organizations of ghetto dwellers to exert pressure on the authorities. But so far, King has been pretty much of a failure at organizing. His workers say the main value of the movement has been to produce "visibility" of the housing problem.

King's aides have failed in their stated attempt to make movement workers out of the Blackstone Rangers, the best-known of Chicago's teen-age gangs. The Rangers still prefer to play the usual games with the city's social workers, rather than become civil rights activists. Efforts by King's men to secure a "collective bargaining" agreement between a union of tenants and their slumlord, in East Garfield Park, were successful, but it was accomplished by using teams of lawyers and United Auto Workers pickets and organizers, rather than a grassroots organization. It is thus harder to replicate on a large scale. "It's a demonstration movement, like those federal demonstration cities or demonstration trains," one civil rights worker joked.

No one doubts that the Freedom Movement needed the rest from marching it is now getting. Things were already falling apart when King agreed to stop; the center coalition of Negroes, the churches and the unions could not have held much longer. "We had as many of our union members out there jeering as we did marching," a UAW official confessed. When Chester Robinson, leader of the neighborhood-based West Side Organization, said he'd march through Cicero in defiance of King's settlement, his financial angels (the City Missionary Society) reminded him it was time for a renewal of their $20,000 grant. Robinson did not march.

While the Freedom Movement ran around Mayor Daley's end and focussed on the Real Estate Board, some small victories could be won. But a direct confrontation with the Daley machine would be difficult in the extreme. Daley has kept his cool (and so has King), but he cannot be expected to maintain his paternalistic, slightly hurt expression forever. He began to crack down with the injunction the authorities sought (and won) to prevent marches in one section of Chicago. "Every time we march," James Bevel once said hopefully, "Daley loses 10,000 votes – from the whites." Dick Gregory will run against Daley for mayor next year, but no one underestimates the strength of the machine to withstand all assaults. The drive to start Freedom Democratic Clubs in Negro precincts in 1964 quickly failed. Since then, Daley has used poverty program funds to secure his own political organization. "My unofficial precinct captains," he is said to have called the poverty workers.

King's campaign is also threatened from the black flank. "This open housing agreement leaves the ghetto Negroes out in the cold," Chester Robinson said. King should be sending telegrams to the ghetto, not to City Hall, he thought. Anyone on Roosevelt Avenue, in the heart of the ghetto riot area, will admit that "75 percent of the Negroes in Chicago don't know anything about civil rights." King has not reached them, and the neighborhood organizations, which presumably express their frustrations more accurately, do not have the resources to develop large campaigns. Robert Lucas, the CORE leader who defied everyone and marched to Cicero, should have had the ghetto behind him: he articulated the poor Negroes' distrust of the mayor, their disdain for paper "agreements," their lack of interest in moving into middle-income suburban housing, and their suspicion of King and his "outside agitators." But Lucas had only 200 Negroes following him into bloody Cicero.

Judy Coburn

Miss Coburn is a reporter in the Washington bureau of Newhouse Newspapers.

The New Publisher

The New Republic *announces the appointment of Garth Hite as its publisher, in succession to Robert B. Luce, who has been appointed president of the print division of Metromedia, Inc. Mr. Hite formerly was the publisher of* Holiday *magazine.*

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The US, India and Pakistan

Coming Showdown Over Arms

From a Special Correspondent

A year ago this country, chagrined by the Indo-Pakistan war, suspended the supply of arms to both those countries. The lesson the interregnum has yielded is that nature abhors a defense vacuum. The two countries today are arming more fiercely than they were before their conflict. India has drawn increasingly on Soviet Russia for her defense requirements. Pakistan, creeping closer to Red China, is depending for military wherewithal mainly on Peking. Pakistan's CENTO allies have also rallied to her side.

No one doubts the wisdom of the original US decision suspending military aid. Neither US conscience nor US interests could have permitted its continuation. The suspension helped shorten the war. Pakistan, from the beginning kept on one month's ration of ammunition and spare parts, was quickly incapacitated. India too suffered grievously when the arms ban was supplemented by a suspension of economic aid. The two countries were thus persuaded to heed the Security Council's advice. They repaired to Tashkent where they produced an agreement which ended the conflict and seemed to point to a period of mutual cooperation.

Since then the situation has deteriorated again. China is filling the military gap in Pakistan, a fact which is not to the advantage of the US or the Soviet Union. It raises the specter of a joint Sino-Pakistani military adventure at the expense of India. There is Kashmir; and there may be a common strategy for India's northeast frontier, where China lays claim to over 30,000 square miles of area.

China's military aid to Pakistan includes 200 medium tanks (enough to recoup Pakistan's losses sustained in the war against India), several squadrons of MIG-15 and MIG-19 planes and some IL-28 bombers. Pakistan has also managed to acquire about 80 F-86 Saber-jet fighter planes through a devious deal with Iran. Originally built in Canada under a license from the US, they were sold to West Germany about 10 years ago. West Germany has now sold them to Iran which has passed them on to Pakistan, ostensibly for repairs.

It can be taken for granted that India too is furiously making up the losses suffered in the war. Both countries are also adding feverishly to their troop strength. Two of Pakistan's new divisions are to be armed by China. Her total proposed strength is being increased to 11 divisions, while India is fast approaching her planned strength of 20 divisions.

US policy has failed to stem the frantic arms race. It has helped to convert the subcontinent into an active arena of the Sino-Soviet struggle. China's military assistance to Pakistan is partly the consequence of US withdrawal. It is also partly in retaliation to Soviet assistance to India. The two communist super-powers are in their rivalry buttressing the two rival states on the subcontinent. In the ensuing pattern, India fondly counts on Soviet assistance in case of China's attack, and Pakistan leans on Peking in the event of embroilment with India.

The only consolation in this situation is the limited parallelism between US and Soviet policies toward the subcontinent. It made its appearance in the series of Security Council meetings dealing with the Indo-Pakistan war last year. Both the US and Russia put equal emphasis on a cessation of hostilities, with the result that all the resolutions of the Security Council were passed with their joint consent. Russia played a mediating role in the meeting at Tashkent. The US, not physically represented at Tashkent, was there in spirit. Pakistan was hesitant about the meeting; it was President Johnson's dramatic telephone call to President Ayub which made the conference possible. Russia was able to play its constructive part only after adopting a virtually neutral position on the Kashmir issue. Its growing economic assistance to Pakistan lent credence to this approach, which has since been buttressed by promises of military aid. US-Soviet parallelism holds the seeds of conscious regional cooperation between the two powers, at least in one great region.

Common Policy with Russia?

The Tashkent agreement, one of the better products of Soviet diplomacy, will go up in smoke unless the Indo-Pakistan arms race is curbed in time. The US also has a stake in conserving the Tashkent agreement and therefore needs to explore the possibility of pursuing a common policy with Russia. Vietnam would be a hurdle but not necessarily an insuperable one. Russia is a partisan in Vietnam, but a mediator in Indo-Pakistan relations.

This country should immediately consult members of the World Bank consortium of countries which are financing the economic development of India and Pakistan and have stakes in continued peace in the subcontinent. In providing this leadership, the entire US effort should be directed to clause nine of the Tashkent agreement under which Pakistan and India unambiguously agreed to continue meeting at the highest and other levels "on matters of direct concern to both countries."

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There could be no more urgent subject of discussion than their spiralling expenditure on defense and the mutual uneasiness it has engendered. Experience shows that India and Pakistan often respond positively to the advice of their benefactors, when it is jointly delivered.

The consortium countries have a right and, indeed, a duty to strive for a ceiling on India's and Pakistan's military expenditures, to be followed, if possible, by a gradual reduction.

Johnson and Marcos

At their meeting in Washington this week, President Johnson and Philippines President Ferdinand E. Marcos have commonly held problems to discuss. The results of their talks could affect the future of Filipino-American relations, the stability of the Philippines political system, and even the course of United States foreign policy in Southeast Asia.

During their presidential campaigns (Johnson in 1964, Marcos in 1965) both Johnson and Marcos seemed to espouse Vietnam positions which were far less hawkish than those of their opponents; after they were elected, both proceeded to follow policies previously advocated by their rivals. Marcos' candidacy was supported by opponents of the proposal of his rival, President Diosdado Macapagal, to send 2,000 Filipino combat engineers to South Vietnam. However, in June of this year the Philippines Congress passed a Vietnam bill to this effect and this time it had the strong backing of President Marcos.

These apparent post-election reversals of policy on Vietnam by Marcos and Johnson in turn have created some serious difficulties for both of them. Both are burdened with grave domestic problems. The Vietnam crisis is constricting the Johnson administration's efforts in the areas of civil rights, urban decay, inflation, anti-poverty and so on. The Philippines, with a generous quota of the ills that afflict developing states, has become more involved in international affairs than at any time in its history. This summer, South Vietnamese prime minister Nguyen Cao Ky visited Manila, and the Philippines attempted to bring the opposing sides in Vietnam to the negotiating table, both through a unilateral approach to Red China, with which, however, the Philippines has no diplomatic relations, and through a proposal – advanced in conjunction with Malaysia and Thailand – for an all-Asia peace conference.

Neutralist sentiment in the Philippines has been heightened by passage of the Vietnam bill, and the belief that American pressure was chiefly responsible for it. Much of the criticism of Marcos on domestic matters is like the views of various groups of the New Left in the United States.

The Marcos administration has also to contend with what may be resurgence of the Huk movement, which was communist-led and nearly succeeded in the years just after World War II. The total of Huk guerrillas and sympathizers is estimated at far under the peak Huk strength of the late 1940's and early 1950's: a few hundred activists now, and perhaps as many as 12,000 sympathizers, compared with up to 15,000 guerrillas then, and one to two million supporters. But it is risky to gauge the Huk potential in purely quantitative terms. The insurgents can take advantage of strained Philippine-American relations, growing Filipino nationalism, the war in Vietnam, serious economic problems, increasing inability to maintain law and order.

Considerable Filipino resentment was aroused last month when the United States once again rejected war compensation claims of Filipino World War II veterans. This controversy has dragged on for 20 years. If Marcos this week doesn't express himself on such issues as strongly as he would like, it may be unfortunate; a blunt, frank approach might be the most effective way to get the Philippines case across to American officials, and particularly to President Johnson.

Should the Marcos-Johnson talks fail to produce more concrete results than have emerged from the many previous exchanges between Filipino and American leaders, the consequence may be continued deterioration in Philippine-American relations and in the Philippines economy. The former outcome conceivably could lead to a neutralist Philippines government which would eliminate American military installations in the islands, and cripple United States defense policy in Southeast Asia.

Martin Meadows

Mr. Meadows, *associate professor of government at American University, lived many years in Manila.*

Back to Goldwater?

In the post-election wisdom of 1964, the Goldwater campaign was held to be a momentary nightmare. When it was over, there was a lesson learned: the GOP would never again isolate itself with candidates and issues which did not run in the currents of that famous mainstream. Normalcy was just around the corner; in the months after November, Goldwater's party chairman, Dean Burch, was replaced by the ideologically neutral Ray Bliss. The Republican Governors' Association, composed of many of the surviving "moderates," set up propaganda operations in Washington. A dozen

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more or less liberal Republican organizations started pushing the party from their bases around the country. For a while, Goldwater himself dropped out of sight.

Now, two years later, the reports of the passing of the Republican right wing seem to have been premature. More than an aberration, the Goldwater episode may have been quite typical of GOP politics and sensibilities in this decade. Normalcy appears farther away than ever. "There is little reason to believe that the Republican Party of 1968 will look much different from 1964," a group of Republican moderates recently reported.

They ticked off a list of distressing symptoms: Goldwater has regained a national role and he is abetted by Ronald Reagan; Ray Bliss' "unity" campaign has meant only that liberals should defer to the Goldwaterites; the few successful moderates have paid more attention to local than national affairs; the Governors' Association has fallen apart (its chairman, Idaho's Governor Robert Smylie, was just defeated in a primary election by a right-winger); GOP gains in the South served the segregationist, ultra-conservative wing; in Congress the Republican center of gravity moved right.

Almost everywhere, the 1964 results have reinforced the claim of the right wing to control of the party. California, which will have a hundred votes at the next national convention, is solidly, and presumably irreversibly, in the Goldwater bag. If Governor Rockefeller loses this year in New York, the state party's strength as a moderate bloc will be dissipated. Elsewhere, where the party's candidates have lost, the machinery falls into the hands of the most active and articulate workers – the conservatives.

As the 1966 campaigns start rolling, the Republican moderates find themselves wishing for as many defeats as victories. The two most likely successes in gubernatorial contests against incumbent Democrats are "Bo" Callaway in Georgia and Ronald Reagan in California; both are in the forests of the right. Senatorial victories for Mark Hatfield in Oregon (now trailing Robert Duncan), Charles Percy in Illinois (even with Senator Douglas), and Edward Brooke in Massachusetts (a favorite no matter who the Democratic candidate will be), would help some, but not enough to make much of a difference in the longer trend. The predicted Republican gains of 30 or 40 seats in the House will go for the most part to right-wing candidates. When that happens, Rep. Melvin Laird of Wisconsin is expected to make his move to unseat minority leader Gerald Ford, and secure the congressional party for Goldwaterites.

Under such conditions, it is not very surprising that so few Republicans have emerged on the national level. Things could conceivably change after November, but the party will still have to place most of its hopes on Governor Romney and former Vice President Nixon. The political persistence, which is not to say the compulsiveness, of Nixon is continually inspiring. The newest of the new Nixons seems to be materializing in the Goldwater image. He has adopted a young, clean-cut adviser named Patrick Buchanan, who is gathering enthusiasm for a Nixon campaign among *National Review* followers. Nixon's well-reported "secret" meeting with conservatives in a Washington hotel last month may not mean that he has gone all the way to the right, but it does indicate that he knows the way to the nomination lies in that direction.

It is hard to see how the GOP can fight its way out of the right-wing corner. If, as seems likely, the country as a whole is not moving the same way, Republican candidates will have to be content with smaller and smaller fractions of votes. That may suit some; ideological campaigns are rarely successful in winning elections, but usually have a significant effect in coloring the political landscape. Certainly the Goldwater campaign had its impact on the way people think about politics, and on how they behave. The Reagan boom would probably not have been possible without Goldwater; the growing Republican strength in the white South is certainly part of the Goldwater syndrome. Even liberal Republicans in liberal states have to cope with the organized right wing which grew out of the Goldwater campaign: John Lindsay had to fight off a bitter attack by conservatives as well as Democrats.

Andrew Kopkind

Fourth Network

The Ford Foundation's plan for financing educational television ensures that at long last Congress and the administration will take seriously the idea of setting up a fourth network.

The foundation wants to see a nonprofit corporation operate a domestic satellite system, which would distribute both commercial and noncommercial television programs. Transmission by satellite will be cheaper by half than telephone cable or microwave, the means now used to relay TV. Ford argues that the projected system could offer the networks lower rates, and have perhaps $30 million left over to put into an educational network which would include both institutional and general cultural programs. Educational TV has been limping along on $10 million a year, most of it from the foundation.

There are other contenders in the fight for control of domestic satellites. Comsat, the mixed public-private, profit-making corporation set up by Congress in 1962 to put together an *international* communications satellite consortium, wants very much to operate domestic

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satellites. Its proposed domestic system would provide transmission for radio and television as well as for radio, telephone, telegraph, facsimile and other kinds of communications. After Ford made known its plan, Comsat rethought its own ideas. Now it suggests spreading the costs of educational television among all the users of its projected system (AT&T, the other carriers and the networks). In addition, it promises free live service for an educational network.

Earlier this year the American Broadcasting Company requested permission from the Federal Communications Commission to put up its own domestic satellite system to relay programs to affiliated stations. It was this filing which began the fight for control. The FCC then requested comments from other interested parties.

The American Telephone & Telegraph Company, which now distributes radio and television programs, claims that a domestic satellite system should be incorporated into the existing systems of the common carriers, meaning itself. AT&T is against the ABC proposal and has been working on its own satellite plans.

All of the proposals would involve use of synchronous satellites. Five of them are required, one for each time zone, and they orbit in such a way that they stay above the same spot on the earth at all times.

The plans for satellite systems will be thrashed out in different forums. James Killian, head of the Carnegie Commission, will soon report to the President on the long-range needs of educational television. The commission will be looking into both the Ford and Comsat plans. The FCC is continuing to get in the views of interested parties, and it could hold hearings. Most important, however, will be a series of hearings to be held next year by the Senate Commerce Committee.

Thus far, the Ford Foundation scheme has met with a very cool reception in Congress. Senator John Pastore held preliminary hearings before a subcommittee of the Commerce Committee. In addition to Mr. McGeorge Bundy, for the Ford Foundation, representatives from the networks, carriers and Comsat testified. All of these agreed that educational television was splendid but that the Ford plan will probably not work.

It was after a filibuster by a handful of liberals in 1962 that Congress decided the basic question of private *vs* public ownership of satellite communications systems by creating Comsat, a profit-making corporation. And it is hard to detect much enthusiasm for reopening this matter.

The Comsat plan is likely to look the most attractive because it seems the easiest. Comsat has experience in the communications satellite business. It is publicly owned. Where Ford proposes a satellite system for broadcast purposes only, Comsat will take care of all communication needs in one system. And Comsat proposes to show how, by using its system, the networks will get cheaper rates, educational television will get money, and the stockholders will get dividends.

In the long run, a decision for Comsat would cut the communications business in two, dividing it between AT&T on the ground and Comsat in the sky. (Even so, AT&T would have a major investment in operating satellite communications. It now holds about 30 percent of Comsat's stock, and, all told, the big carriers control 50 percent of the outstanding stock. AT&T would be scarcely scratched by removal of television transmission from its cables to satellites. The money the Bell System now gets from networks for transmission amounts to less than one-third of one percent of AT&T's $11-billion net income.)

Heretofore, neither the big communications carriers nor the networks have supported educational television in any substantive way. They have been pleased to see it staying just barely alive as a sop to their critics. But within the past year or so, these big electronic companies have staked much of their future growth on the so-called education market. And television is the prime undeveloped instrument in education. If they choose to oppose its growth, they simply will be delaying the opening of a wide market for goods and services. It is much more likely that the big companies – RCA, AT&T and CBS – will want to have a hand in developing and operating educational television.

And this makes it doubly necessary that Congress take care in providing for educational television's growth. Certainly, its future should not be tied to Comsat's profits. And it ought to be shielded from economic pressures of the networks and carriers. The Ford Foundation proposal of providing for educational TV through a nonprofit corporation is a sensible one, and the best idea advanced so far. James Ridgeway

Draft Those Reservists?

Dismayed by the administration's failure to heed arguments in favor of at least a partial Reserve mobilization, Congress has shifted its tack. The concern is no longer with strategy, but with equity. Senator Richard Russell set the tone a few weeks ago by declaring that the so-called "six-month program" has become a national scandal. "Men who have enough pull to get into the Reserves or National Guard units are not being sent to fight," he said, "while the man across the street who is drafted lands in Vietnam."

The present law allows the President to call up the Reserves only after a declaration of national emergency, and then only on a unit-by-unit basis. (Unit vacancies may be filled with members of the Reserve's "manpower pool" – trained men who, for reasons of con-

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venience or geography, are not assigned to regularly drilling units.) The administration has sought to justify its refusal to mobilize any Reserve units by pointing out, first, that the Reserves are a "perishable asset" and ought not to be used up at this time, and, second, that our image would not be well served by a declaration of national emergency.

Senator Russell suggested a rider to the latest defense money bill which would have authorized the President to call up individual unit members without first declaring a national emergency. The Senate liked the idea; the House rejected it (378-3). Opponents in the House feared that such a selective mobilization would "decimate" existing units and impair the Reserves' overall effectiveness.

The House Armed Services Committee was already at work on a "Reserve Forces Bill of Rights" (HR 17195), introduced last July by Representative F. Edward Hébert (D, La.). One provision of the bill would require that any person enlisted in the Reserves after July 1, 1966 be sent to active duty within 180 days of his swearing-in. The clause was designed to avoid a further increase in the already enormous backlog of untrained Reservists – men who have been sworn into Reserve units but who, because of the shortage of training facilities created by stepped-up draft quotas, have yet to see a day of active duty. The backlog now comprises 133,000 men.

Most of the present untrained Reserve members were enlisted before July 1. What, the committee wondered, could be done with them? The answer had already been suggested by Senator Russell's ill-fated rider: simply authorize the President to call them to active duty individually. As they were untrained, their sudden departure would hardly decimate their units. The plan would put many Reservists on a more equal footing with men who, through patriotism or procrastination, failed to take advantage of the six-month option. Stirred by the equity thus promised, the committee on August 29 added to the Reserve Forces Bill of Rights the right of an untrained Reservist to be called individually to active duty for as long as two years, just like a draftee. The President's authority under this provision would run to July 1, 1968.

The bill also gave the President permanent permission to call up Reservists who, though trained, are not assigned to a drilling unit. These men, some of whom were mobilized for Berlin in 1961, would be subject to active duty for two years, minus any time already served. As a final stroke for justice, the committee voted to empower the President to extend a man's basic six-year overall obligation whenever this was necessary to allow him to complete his active duty.

How sound is the House Armed Services Committee's thinking? A mobilization of some or all of the present untrained Reservists would be just as detrimental to Reserve strength as the individual call-up of trained unit members proposed in the Senate appropriations rider. The 133,000-man backlog represents most of the past year's Reserve enlistment roster – men sworn in on a regular basis to replace retiring Reservists, and to keep Reserve membership at authorized strength. By calling them to active duty, the President would precipitate a sharp drop in Reserve manpower. Because training facilities will continue to be jammed for some time to come, the Reserves, under the bill's 180-day maximum-wait-for-training provision, would not be able to increase enlistments to compensate for the loss. It would take a full six-year enlistment cycle to restore full Reserve membership.

The untrained Reservists, furthermore, are untrained only because the army has been unable to train them. Why were they permitted to enlist if the army had no room? According to Lt. Gen. J. L. Throckmorton, Chief of the Pentagon's Office of Reserve Components, the law *requires* that the Reserves continue to take in new men. Had Congress permitted a cutback in new enlistments, the young men it now seeks to penalize for joining might have commenced – and completed – their active duty months earlier.

The untrained Reservists are not draft dodgers. Most enlisted (without using "pull"), when the talk of mobilization had already taken on serious overtones. The amount of "equity" that would be fostered by the bill's *de facto* draft of Reserve members, many of whose lives have already been disrupted for more than a year, is questionable. Judgment ought to play a more important role in congressional action than indignation.

Jeffrey Shane

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Confident Rhodesians

From a Special Correspondent

Salisbury

"Always something new out of Africa," wrote the elder Pliny. One of the most remarkable contemporary novelties on the black continent is the extraordinary confidence of a handful of Rhodesians who are thumbing their white noses at the rest of the world as they approach the anniversary of their seizure of independence. All of them put together number only about two-thirds of United States servicemen in Vietnam. The assassination of white Rhodesia's friend, South African prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd, is likely only to make white Rhodesians tougher than they have been 'til now.

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Meanwhile in London a Commonwealth "summit" conference was meeting to consider the Rhodesia problem. Commonwealth prime ministers and presidents at these gatherings do not vote. They arrive at decisions by consensus, a magic word never defined. Hitherto the system was effective enough. The only bedfellow ever to roll out was South Africa, and that was to the relief of the newcomers. But South Africa was the specter standing at the shoulder of British prime minister Harold Wilson at the Commonwealth conference.

Dr. Verwoerd's unspoken alliance with Rhodesia stuck to the letter of the law. South Africa did not give *de jure* recognition to the independence of Rhodesia. It only continued to "trade normally" with Rhodesia, to use Dr. Verwoerd's own words. Nevertheless South African aid, trade and comfort successfully sustained the regime of Rhodesian prime minister Ian Smith, with the connivance of Portugal, whose province of Mozambique provides Rhodesia with its two main ports, Beira and Lourenço Marques. All Britain's schemes to starve and strangle white Rhodesians into a condition where they would be willing to surrender their parliamentary authority, or at any rate take steps to hand it over in the future, have been frustrated.

Talks with Britain

Today, after 10 months of sanctions, the morale of the Rhodesian government is high. On the surface the economy is surprisingly buoyant. Far from deviating from the discriminatory trends of its racial policies which were the real cause of the break with Britain, the Rhodesian government is openly following the pattern of South Africa's apartheid legislation, and has begun to make new and harsher repressive laws. The sudden break-off in the semi-official talks with Britain came as no surprise here. The talks had made little progress and may not be resumed.

Mr. Ian Smith and his colleagues are firmly convinced that it is Mr. Wilson and the British government who are in trouble, not themselves. Not only the South Africans and the Portuguese, but striking British seamen, and all others who have contributed to sterling's lack of buoyancy and Britain's economic plight, have been allies of the rebel regime in Salisbury.

Mr. Smith's propagandists within Rhodesia (where the radio and television stations are well tamed, and the press is muzzled) were aided by other unwitting allies, in Africa. They were the generals, the youth leagues, the politicians and the mobs who deposed eight presidents and two prime ministers in a quarter of Africa's independent states in the past 13 months. Historians will have a logical explanation. But when this continuous pattern of violent behavior is compared with the relative peace of Rhodesia, people here tend to sympathize with the government of Ian Smith.

"We are not prepared to have that sort of thing in our country," says "Boss" Lilford, a rangy Salisbury tobacco millionaire and a personal friend of Ian Smith's, "whether you give it the euphemistic title of 'majority rule' or call it anything else."

White Rhodesians believe that, with the racial ground swell in Britain, and the recent riots and "black power" movement in America, more and more whites of the Western world are sympathizing with them, even if the actions of the State Department and of Mr. Wilson belie this. They note that American industry has never stopped buying Rhodesian chrome (in spite of the sanctions). Last week a giant Greek ore freighter, the *NiNi*, was in Beira, loading chrome quite openly for the United States. A group of 23 Americans began a 10-day goodwill tour of Rhodesia. Leading American journalists now in this country have told members of the Salisbury regime that American businessmen will always beat the sanctions on Rhodesia even if the State Department approves sanctions. An American jurist appeared last week on Rhodesian television screens to support the Smith regime's contention that their "Boston Tea Party" was justified.

Rhodesians note that American investment in South Africa is over £184 million and that it gets the very satisfactory return of 21 percent per annum. The remaining United States representative in Salisbury is on very good terms with the regime here. Rhodesians deduce that if the chips were down, the United States (and Britain, who also has a fat interest) would shilly-shally over any proposed United Nations action which might prejudice their investment in South Africa.

Mainly because of South African and Portuguese aid, but also because of under-the-counter deals with Switzerland, Spain, Scandinavia, West Germany, Japan and the United States, and because Zambia cannot cut off her Rhodesian communications without destroying herself, the Rhodesian economy is in surprisingly good shape and the regime is as confident as ever. Smith does not believe Wilson will resort to force, and the British prime minister has said nothing to change his mind. Smith knows that Dr. Verwoerd's successor cannot afford to see sanctions succeed against Rhodesia. Therefore the Rhodesian leader is certain that South Africa will continue to supply his country with all the oil it needs (at a price) via Mozambique. (It was, incidentally, an American oil company which supplied the cargoes for the two ships, the *Ionna V* and the *Manuela*, which attempted to beat the British blockade.)

The simple faith of the regime in Salisbury that it will succeed is based on the conviction that Western business interests are more powerful than Western principle and that Southern African business is worth more than the rest of Africa's trade put together.

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Civil Rights' Dim Prospects

by Alexander M. Bickel

A civil rights bill of 1966, promised in the State of the Union message in January, sent to Congress on April 28 and passed in the House with important modifications on August 9, has now encountered the expected opposition in the Senate. Its origins go back two and three summers to events in the Southern black belt, and the bill's present distance from those origins accounts for some of the things that happened to it in the House, and for its dim prospects in the Senate.

Out of the bankruptcy of state, and the relatively ineffectual operation of federal, criminal processes in trying to bring to book persons accused of such racial crimes as the murders of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo and Jonathan Daniels in Alabama, there had arisen by the summer of 1965 a determined movement for the reform of both federal and state systems of jury selection, and for the strengthening of federal criminal statutes applicable to racially motivated acts of violence. The President's bill of April 28 reformed the federal jury system from top to bottom, included a good – if merely first step – provision aimed at increasing Negro representation on Southern state court juries, and created a series of new federal crimes. These sections of the bill were passed virtually unchanged by the House, and might have been expected to have fairly easy sailing even in the Senate. But the President's bill also featured a title dealing with discrimination in housing, on which most attention immediately focused, and it came to the floor of the House in the midst of this summer's rash of city riots. And there – in that title, and in these events – are the sources of the bill's troubles. As matters stand now, it is highly uncertain that Mr. Dirksen, the Senate Republican panjandrum, can be persuaded to swallow the housing title or anything like it, and a good many civil rights leaders consider the bill, as amended in the House, "worthless." Without Mr. Dirksen's assistance, the Senate filibuster probably cannot be stopped. And liberals have little inducement to gain Mr. Dirksen's assistance by compromises that will render a bill already deemed "worthless" more so. Such are the first fruits of black power.

The housing title of the administration bill was excellent in coverage, but quite weak in its enforcement provisions. It would not have been altogether without practical effect, but what it really did was what the President on August 10 said the bill as passed in the House would do. "Symbolically," said the President, "the House has, in effect declared to all Negro Americans that . . . it is wrong to deny to anyone a decent place to live solely because of the color of his skin . . . [and] that the law should be an instrument of justice in this cause." Well, the President's bill would have done just that. The House bill scarcely makes the declaration to "all Negro Americans," or even to most of them, for it covers mainly apartment houses, and private homes only in new developments. It does not cover the sale of lots to individuals proposing to build their own homes. And it exempts the sale of all used private homes – which includes the second sale of houses in developments and probably of cooperative apartments. But although it covers much less – some 40 percent of housing, it has been estimated, and little of that in the suburbs, which, for so many reasons, Negroes ought to be encouraged to penetrate – the House bill attaches effective enforcement powers to what it does cover. It creates a federal Fair Housing Board equipped with far more impressive administrative powers that were granted to any agency established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964; powers, in fact, like those of the National Labor Relations Board, and thus greater than those possessed by any federal agency concerned with civil rights, with the possible exception of the Attorney General under the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Such an agency – unless the President goes even farther in handicapping it with poor and tardy appointments than he did the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Community Relations Service – is capable of developing a momentum of its own, which can in turn produce new and enlarged coverage as it is needed. Much would be worth sacrificing in order to save such an agency, including even more of the already reduced coverage of the housing title. No bill that includes it can be "worthless."

Eminent candidates for sacrifice are Titles III and VI of the House-passed bill. Title III – analogous to a title so numbered which liberals tried unsuccessfully to attach to the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964 and 1965 – was not in the administration bill, but was added in the House Judiciary Committee. The idea of it was an invention originally of the Eisenhower administration, which put it forward in 1957, and the kindest thing to be said about it now is that it is an anachro-

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nism. It rests on the premise – valid a decade ago – that Congress cannot be brought to define, let alone provide for the enforcement of, civil rights, and that the courts are the only institution available for the attainment of either end. Hence the Attorney General should be given authority in the broadest and most general terms to go to court and obtain from the judges an ever expanding declaration of constitutional rights, which he can then enforce through further litigation. This is not only a slow but also an ineffectual process. It did not prove very serviceable even in solving the comparatively simple problem of the denial of the right to vote. And it was and remains a diseconomical and otherwise harmful imposition on the judiciary – an institution, after all, that has its important proper uses, and whose health is worth worrying about. But the Title III device seemed the only one available a decade ago, and anyway it served to deflect pressure from Congress, which responded to this sort of pressure only by tying itself up in interminable filibusters, and rendering itself incapable of doing anything else.

In the form in which the House has now passed it, Title III would authorize the Attorney General to sue for an injunction against any "pattern or practice of resistance," based on a person's race, religion or national origin, to the full enjoyment of constitutional rights. To the extent that Congress has already acted to define constitutional and other civil rights, the Attorney General hardly needs more litigating authority. For the rest, there is no longer any excuse for taking Congress off the hook in this fashion. And in any event, the thing is more sham, more an empty gesture than anything else. "My opinion of it," said Attorney General Katzenbach in 1965, "would be the same opinion that was stated by my predecessor [Robert Kennedy]. When you give us that power, then you [must] also give us . . . an appropriation to hire the police force that it is going to take to do it. Don't give us the responsibility without the capacity of fulfilling it."

Disturbing Mood

Title VI of the 1966 bill started out in the President's bill as an attempt to strengthen a provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, authorizing the Attorney General to bring school-desegregation suits. Typically, no great results have been achieved pursuant to this authorization. Administrative action under Title VI of the same statute, making desegregation a condition for the receipt of federal funds, has had much greater effect. Yet the power to sue does have special uses in this instance, precisely because it can follow and enhance administrative action, and the administration bill sought to free the Attorney General of the necessity to wait for a written complaint from an aggrieved Negro parent before being allowed to sue. The House, by amendment from the floor, reaffirmed the written-complaint requirement, so that the provision is now at best no improvement on existing law. What is worse, some other amendments, and the debate surrounding them, exhibited a very disturbing mood on school desegregation.

The halls rang with angry denunciations of the Office of Education for moving too vigorously and too radically under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to finally desegregate both the student bodies and the faculties of Southern schools – a process, incidentally, against which the governor and legislature of Alabama just last week decided to interpose themselves, although this will quite possibly be another of Governor Wallace's futile posturings in the schoolhouse door. Representative Basil L. Whitener of North Carolina offered an elaborate amendment that would have almost totally gutted Title VI of the 1964 Act, especially as applied to schools and hospitals. This amendment was rejected by the strikingly narrow margin of 136-127. The House did, however, tack on a provision forbidding the Office of Education to concern itself with "racial imbalance" (as contrasted with legally imposed or induced segregation; not that the Office now clearly has such authority, or has made more than one abortive attempt to assert it). The upshot is that if its enemies will let them, its friends would be well-advised to abandon the entire ill-starred education title of the 1966 bill.

The disturbing mood of the House was also manifested when the House wrote into the bill a so-called anti-riot amendment, and by the lopsided margin, at that, of 389-25. This provision punishes the incitement or encouragement of riots as well as rioting itself. The provision will not be easily enforced, for the basis of federal jurisdiction on which it is rested is that one must have traveled interstate with intent to commit the forbidden acts. It marks an utterly unnecessary and uncalled-for intrusion of federal authority nonetheless. But the anti-riot amendment scarcely justifies calling the bill an "anti-civil rights bill," and it may now be a price to be paid for having any bill at all. It had the support for example of Representative William M. McCulloch of Ohio, an essential Republican figure on civil rights matters in the House. For it bespeaks, however wrongheadedly, the anxieties of urban whites.

They need even more, of course – much more – the attention of an effective fair housing title and an improved fair employment law, such as the House passed earlier this year, but with no apparent hope for Senate action. Not that laws, even very good ones, solve these problems instantly or even soon. But laws do help, and a mood as dangerous as that sometimes exhibited by the House this summer is the mood of civil rights leaders who call laws "worthless."

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A Time To Be Black

by Bruce Detwiler

Since Stokely Carmichael became the national chairman of SNCC, there have been uneasy rumblings from white liberals everywhere, for he has openly asked the questions that many Negroes have been quietly pondering for years. Ironically, in the white community it has been the student activists – the "purged" Mississippi summer soldiers whom liberal columnists have been feeling so sorry for lately – who have shown the most enthusiasm for Carmichael. To many of us he is the most exciting new development in the movement since the Aaron Henry campaign first brought Northern students to the black belt. Criticisms from the armchair liberals, however, have flown so thick and fast lately (and, I might add, have been so irrational) that people of our leaning are finding themselves in a lonely position indeed.

One of the main sources of what I can only call white paranoia over the past few months has been SNCC's recent emphasis on "black consciousness." Few whites seem to have reacted to this with any degree of thoughtfulness or objectivity, yet the push for black consciousness is central to all the other new ideas in the movement right now. Before one can ask the whys and wherefores, one must first ask what it is that the black-consciousness advocates are reacting against. Specifically, one must ask what is wrong with the present kind of racial consciousness in the Negro community. Is it true that the larger masses of Negro people are on the brink of some kind of suicidal black supremacy as alarmists would have us believe, and are the ghettoes and black belt towns really hotbeds of seething black nationalism? Or on the contrary can it be said that most Negroes don't even think in terms of color? If we can rely on the good judgment of those who should be authorities on such matters, the answer to all of these questions seems to be an unequivocal no. Whether we read Richard Wright, Charles Silberman, or James Baldwin, we are told that most Negroes, far from being supremacists, are in fact ashamed of being Negroes. We are reminded that the Negro in America and especially in our deep South has been taught to disrespect himself for centuries, and we are told that the Negro has come to see himself as the white man sees him, a lazybones and a slyboots, characterized by an animal's passions and a child's mentality. Considering the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the Negro often finds it difficult to have the pride in himself and his people that one must have to stand up and move forward. And most of those who do stand up are still fettered with at least some vestiges of Mr. Charlie's paralyzing ideas. In the civil rights movement I have seen the same Negro who so loudly decries the bigotry of white America turn to his closest of kin and call him "nigger," and not jokingly but seriously as an insult. And then there is the phenomenon of light-skinned Negroes discriminating against those with darker skins. Of course nappy ("bad hair") is something to be ashamed of, while straight hair ("good hair") is cause for pride. These are only the most obvious of examples. It is possible to point to almost any aspect of Negro life and show how some Negroes are ashamed of it. What is important to realize is how immobilizing this type of thing can be, both for the individual (in terms of his self-confidence) and also for the community (in terms of its solidarity).

It is absurd to compare the Negro to most other American minorities because of the greater degree to which the Negro has been oppressed. As Richard Wright has pointed out, the culture of any truly oppressed people will over time disintegrate, and those who are oppressed will slowly come to see their oppressor's society and values as the truest measuring stick of themselves. Thus while the Irishman in America can believe that it is a rich cultural heritage that sets him apart, the American Negro will all too often believe that his people are only distinguished by a preponderance of bad qualities, and this has its dire consequences. In the South this is what reduces grown men to groveling Uncle Toms who would betray their best friends to the white racist. Wright says of this type in his *White Man Listen!*, "They are passionately loyal because they are not psychologically free enough to be traitors." This is perhaps what caused a white racist candidate in last spring's Wilcox Co., Ala., primary for sheriff to defeat a Negro candidate on the strength of Negro votes (intimidation was negligible). As was said recently in *Ebony* magazine, "Black people have been taught to be

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ashamed of themselves and their blackness for so long that it has been difficult for them to accept each other. . . . They must be taught to be proud of themselves as belonging to a beautiful people, a proud people." This is what black consciousness is all about. It may be that the supremacist Black Muslims could do more to bring certain Negroes to their feet than all the job retraining programs in the world.

But doctrines of black consciousness are not necessarily anti-white. Again in *White Man Listen!* Wright explains how the downtrodden at the bottom of society inevitably feel toward their oppressor: "A certain degree of hate combined with love (ambivalence) is always involved in this looking from below upward, and the object against which the subject is measuring himself undergoes constant change. He loves the object because he would like to resemble it; he hates the object because his chances of resembling it are remote, slight." This is why Negroes will always hate the white man as long as they are psychologically enslaved by him. It is ironic that a lessening of this clinging love will also bring about a lessening of hatred, but Wright is implying here that the oppressed must gain their own spiritual freedom before they can ever be expected to come to terms with their hatreds – both of themselves and of their oppressors. Black consciousness becomes what Sartre has called "an anti-racist racism." It may be that white liberals, because they approach color too much from a white frame of reference, have thought too much about Negroes being anti-white and not enough about the ramifications of Negroes being anti-Negro. The main thing that impressed me on this spring's Meredith march was Stokely Carmichael's eagerness to communicate his ideas to the whites who would listen to him. He may lean toward a kind of therapeutic nationalism, but being pro-Negro has not made him anti-white.

The Inevitable Consciousness of Race

Many would have all racial consciousness played down, arguing that we should see each other as people and not as members of different races, but as Carmichael has said, "This is an era of racial consciousness." No matter how hard we try, and whether we're prejudiced or not, we are all unavoidably conscious of race today, and the very fact that there is a civil rights movement makes this inevitable. What is important is that all men (Negroes as well as whites) become conscious that all races are equal.

I am sorry I have spent so much time on the psychological maladjustments of the Negro people, especially when the collective psyche of my own people is in such poor condition, and I am sorry I have made so many sweeping generalizations, to which of course there are many, many exceptions, but it is only because white liberals have shied away from this subject in the past that there is such a hostile reaction to what I think are some good ideas in SNCC now.

Whites who have organized in the deep South have always been familiar with the problems of racial consciousness; one would have to be blind to ignore them. For many of us this has led to some real soul-searching and some basic reevaluations as to our general effectiveness. Too often we have found our relationships with local community leaders disturbingly like the traditional white-black relationship of the deep South; the white organizer finds the decision-making left up to him, while the local leader finds himself instinctively assuming a subservient role. For whites it is hard to appreciate the barriers Southern Negroes must overcome when white people move into the community, and try as we may, there is very little that white organizers can do to minimize these barriers. Several times I've asked aware, civil-rights oriented people older than I not to call me "Mr. Bruce," only to be answered with a "Yes, Sir!" Since the organizer's purpose is not to lead but to get the people to lead themselves, being white is an insurmountable handicap. After a while organizers often wonder if they are not unwittingly developing a new breed of Uncle Tom, to put it harshly – a Tom who will do and think whatever the white civil rights worker wants him to. Even the most sensitive of whites have not been able to overcome this problem (and the less sensitive often don't see the problem at all, glorying in the knowledge that their opinions are so at one with those of the local people). Many of us, though, have begun to realize that far from helping Negroes to see themselves as free agents capable of shaping their own destinies, our presence after a certain point has merely prevented them from taking the initiative. Whites served a vital function in the beginning, but now our efforts, in the field, anyway, may well be counterproductive.

SNCC, therefore, is only pursuing a logical course when it advocates replacing white students in Negro community projects with Southern Negro students. Not only are the Negro students able to avoid the racial problems that we encounter, but as organizers they have an excellent opportunity to get the political experience that Southern Negroes so badly need.

The issue of black consciousness and certain tactical considerations have thrown into question another aspect of the movement; for the past ten years the hue and cry from civil rights leaders has been integration. Several years ago, when Negroes had no political power, integration seemed like the shortest route to better schools, better public facilities, and greater opportunity in general. Now we can see that attempts at integration such as the '54 Supreme Court decision have been relatively ineffectual, whereas attempts at political organ-

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ization are gradually succeeding. Since it is becoming more and more evident that the shortest road to advancement is through political power, Negroes are beginning to speak their mind on integration as it relates to the problem of black consciousness. They are saying that for the racial sickness of white society integration may be an excellent cure, but for the Negro it is often only one more source of degradation. The advocates of black consciousness see little reason why the ten percent of America that is black should be so anxious to become absorbed by the white majority.

The Nightmare of Integration

True, there are many undeniable advantages to integration, but the feeling seems to be now that they are often outweighed by the disadvantages. Let's look at an example of integration at work to see why. In Holmes County, Miss., a six-year-old Negro boy, whose name I won't mention, was enrolled last fall in the newly integrated Durant Elementary School. He could have gone to a nearby segregated school, as many of the other colored children did, but, partially at my suggestion, his mother decided to send him to Durant. The boy's teacher turned out to be Mrs. C—, the white lady who for eight years had employed his mother as a domestic in her home. When Mrs. C— learned that he would be going to the integrated school, however, she promptly fired his mother in retaliation, and his mother was subsequently blackballed by white employers throughout the area. I don't think I need discuss the kind of education Mrs. C— has offered the black children in her class this year. Frequently paddled (with a broken rocking-chair handle) and seldom praised, it is questionable whether their learning experience has been a positive one. Perhaps it was good for Mrs. C— and the white children to be subjected to an integrated situation, but, for the black children, school this year has been a nightmare. If this seems like an extreme example, it is nonetheless exemplary of the kind of humiliation that every Negro must feel to some degree when he enters any school, restaurant, or rest room where he is not wanted.

When Carmichael says he doesn't care about integration, he is not saying that people shouldn't be able to integrate if they want to; he is merely saying that an emphasis on integration hardly relates to the problems of black consciousness discussed already, and as far as the equality struggle is concerned, an emphasis on integration is obviously not the best answer. The Civil Rights Act of '64 was important in that it is important for Negroes to know they can go where they please, but beyond this an emphasis on integration is rather pointless until there are some basic changes made in the American pecking order. The real issues now are economic and political, and what Negroes should be calling for now is their share of economic and political power. Most of this should be fairly obvious. What good are integrated restaurants if Negroes can't afford them anyway? Will integrated schools lessen white people's prejudices or reaffirm them, if the Negroes these whites confront are all from economically deprived environments; and can a Negro child really learn when he knows that the majority of teachers and students around him who are white are racists? This need not be drawn out any further; integration is in many cases a mixed blessing at best for the individual, and by itself a dubious solution to the problems of American Negroes as a whole.

The best arguments for the black-power style of politics, it seems to me, are predicated on the problems of black consciousness, and at this stage of the civil rights movement they outweigh any arguments of political expediency. However, there is a political rationale behind black power too, and it should be considered.

Carmichael sees the Northern ghettoes and Southern black belt communities as similar to colonies in the throes of revolution. In the beginning, the civil rights movement looked beyond these "colonies" to white America and tried to dramatize what colonial life could be like. In those days, this course of action made sense, for the Negro was helpless by himself and injustices were blatant enough to make even the most indifferent of white liberals indignant. This also made sense because the movement was after legislative gains. Now, however, most of the legislative gains have been made, and the Negro is no longer helpless by himself, and furthermore the issues are becoming subtler and of a less immediately embarrassing nature for white liberal politicos. Thus the movement is slowly turning inward. As more and more Negroes register to vote and as embryonic Negro political organizations mature, the movement can be expected to change its focus from its former moral appeal to the nation's whites, toward a more political appeal to the nation's Negroes; and in style the movement will be less concerned with nationwide public relations, and more concerned with the direct needs of the Negro community. This, if nothing else, accounts for the steadily increasing emphasis on black consciousness. It also accounts for SNCC's recent renunciation of nonviolence (good tactically for enlisting white liberal support) in favor of a doctrine of self-defense (good tactically for gaining increased Negro support). From now on we can expect the militants in the movement to be more concerned with emboldening timid Negroes than with reassuring timid whites.

For these reasons and for the sake of black consciousness it is SNCC's main objective now to emphasize to Negroes everywhere that the time has come for black people to declare themselves a force which must be reckoned with. Since many Negroes are afraid to speak

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out, the leaders must speak out all the more; since there are Negroes who would deny their blackness, the leaders must make them proud of it; and since most Negroes are convinced that they are politically impotent, the leaders must convince them that they are a threat. In the early days of the movement, when organizations were appealing to whites, SNCC gave the word "Freedom" its magical ring. Now the appeal is to disenfranchised Negroes, and now the cry is "Black Power." For political reasons, and for their own dignity, Negroes must learn to do their own bidding politically and economically. Where black people are a majority, black people must learn to vote for black sheriffs, black tax assessors, and black members of the board of education who can be a source of black power and black pride to the hitherto downtrodden black community.

Some will ask why black people shouldn't vote for white Southern liberals as well as for blacks. Carmichael argues that there are no true white liberals in Southern politics as yet, and all the empirical evidence seems to suggest that he is right. The Richmond Flowerses and the Wilson Bakers of our deep South (racists only a few short years ago) are liberal only in comparison to the company they keep. If elected to office they might put in a plug for less racism (as opposed to more), but there is little indication that they would be interested in widespread or sweeping reforms. Outwardly theirs is similar to the Northern style of Democratic politics, and to many Negroes they differ from the George Wallaces only in that they are smart enough to cloud the issues with varying amounts of rhetoric and tokenism.

Organizing Poor Whites

However, far from writing off the Southern white, Carmichael has been giving some thought to organizing him! This makes more sense than most people realize. There are many thousands of poor whites all over the deep South who are nearly as disenfranchised as the Negro, and the types of economic and political gains that the Negro is striving for are exactly the types of gains that could benefit the poor white too. The Negro by himself will probably never be able to dominate Southern politics, but the poor Negro and the poor white together could constitute a formidable force, and as Carmichael says, "The real issues are colorless." It is Carmichael's plan to take the white students who have up to this time been organizing in the Negro community, and after a thorough orientation session send them into the white community, to organize a base of power there which will, hopefully, some day, become the white half of a black-white coalition.

For obvious reasons, white Southerners and Southern blacks must be organized separately; most blacks at this point are not able psychologically to work effectively with whites, and whites in most cases are not willing to work directly with blacks. However, I have seen great enthusiasm for Carmichael's method of organizing the two communities not only from Negroes in Mississippi but from poor whites I have spoken to as well.

In a nutshell then, Carmichael's overall program is to foster greater dignity and cohesiveness among Negroes through increased racial awareness; to develop the poor Negro community into a unified and independent political force using black organizers; to develop the poor-white community into a parallel force using white organizers; and then to form a coalition of all the poor.

It is ironic that the only major civil rights group which has given serious thought to organizing poor whites and helping them to obtain power has been dubbed by alarmists anti-white. It seems as though some people are using the cry of "black supremacy" in the civil rights movement as indiscriminately as the cry of communism was once used in the labor movement, and if this kind of indiscriminate labeling continues, we could conceivably be in for a kind of latter-day McCarthyism, stripping the movement of its militant leadership, and maybe causing certain paranoiac whites to see a black supremacist behind every tree. The Democratic establishment and the more conservative rights groups have been subjected to the vituperative attacks of militants for years; now it seems they're out to squash the gadfly.

Suffice to say that what is happening in SNCC should be less cause for alarm than the unwarranted reaction it has evoked. White sympathizers on the picket line should be able to yell "Black Power" just as heartily and unself-consciously as they used to yell "Freedom," for the concept of black power should be no more threatening to them than is the concept of, for example, Irish power or Democratic power, and besides, black power is in some ways synonymous with poor-white power.

Of course, SNCC like any other group could conceivably become a black supremacist group some day in the future, but this shouldn't affect our allegiances now. It makes no sense to support groups we know are too conservative, for fear that the good groups will some day be too militant. I am more worried about other things. Will SNCC Negroes in their mad scramble for power forget the idyllic vision of SNCC's earlier days? Will they continue to work for participatory democracy on the grass-roots level, or will Negro politics in the South become characterized by the same corruption and bossism that has ruined Negro politics in New York and Philadelphia? These are some of the things which only the future can tell. As for the present, SNCC is one of the most sense-making Negro revolutions around.

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Mix-up on Drugs

by Robert Coles

Even though it is no secret to this century that the way people dress, or what they eat, drink and choose to smoke varies enormously over the planet, a capacity to enjoy the strange and different, or at least not run from them in immediate fear and outrage, is no birthright of any child. Not many cultures make a point of encouraging an easy tolerance of what "others" favor. As the child grows and learns his rights and wrongs he unwittingly takes in (and excludes) countless preferences that he never acknowledges as such: there are things one eats, and things one simply doesn't; there are places to sleep and places not at all suitable for rest; a tie is not some nondescript, absurd piece of cloth choking at one's neck, but either a necessary and customary article of clothing or, for the more individualistic and decorative, one element in the dreary business of dressing that provides an opportunity to demonstrate not conformity but its opposite, personal style and choice.

One in Seven: Drugs on Campus
by Richard Goldstein
(Walker; $4.95)
Narcotics – An American Plan
by Saul Jeffee
(Eriksson; $5)

Yet there are limits to the relevance of what might be called a "cross-cultural" or anthropological mode of thinking. Because tastes, practices and beliefs contrast from one area to the next certainly does not mean that a people has no right to proclaim and perpetuate its own particular standards or ideals. Quite the contrary, a child needs parents who believe in something, and a society that knows what it values and wants. No social scientist who has gone out to document child-rearing in Polynesia or the ritual use of alcohol or drugs in Asia means for a nervous, gullible American middle class to come rushing at him upon his return, ready to abandon almost anything for the new, the different – the heavenly, at last. In any case there are needs that are reassuringly universal or human, rather than "cultural," or so it seems. Everyone has to eat something, get some sleep, and die in relatively similar ways – by infection or accident, by tired and worn out cells or cells gone wild. If no one else, the biologist and the doctor appear immune to all the doubts and misgivings that come with an increasingly small and self-conscious world whose various cultures are newly intimate, but also unsure of themselves and in apparent erosion – literally wearing one another away.

I am taking a long wind-up in coming to terms with the problem of drugs or narcotics (and two books written on the subject) because I recently heard a physician and professor of medicine also do so in a lecture on narcotics to a class of medical students; and I found his logic compelling. He reminded his listeners that there are an estimated six million alcoholics in the United States today. He showed slides illustrating what alcohol does to the liver, perhaps to more livers than the total number of drug addicts in the country. He then presented one chart after another, followed by more slides – a grim and unnerving series they were – to show what cigarettes most likely do to the lungs and possibly the hearts of those who smoke them. Lives are ruined and prematurely ended by whisky and tobacco, yet neither laws (including for a few years a constitutional amendment) nor widespread dissemination of medical knowledge seem to be of avail, even among doctors themselves. At the end of his talk the lecturer asked a question: Why do most of us find marijuana a vaguely sinister product, a dangerous drug, when there are no cirrhotic or cancerous cells to lay at its door? He pointed out that the very word marijuana suggests an exotic and sultry experience, perhaps an "immoral" one; and he went on to say that if its use is decried as but a passing phase in the drug addict's developmental history – by no means the usual case – then the cumulatively ruinous power of alcohol still has not been matched.

It is confusing and treacherous territory, the drug scene. Nothing tells better just how confusing than the failure of words to keep pace with the inconsistency and ambiguity of our attitudes, habits and laws. Addiction is a medical term, describing a strictly physiological dependence rather than a psychological one – which, after all, we can have to beer, steak, apple pie and ice cream. Thus, to a physician, cocaine and marijuana are non-addictive, though they are handled by the government's Narcotics Bureau, while barbiturates are addictive – yet like aspirin or penicillin come under the scrutiny of the Food and Drug Administration. We call dexedrine and barbiturates "stimulants" or "sleeping pills," but marijuana (pot) is put under that ominous rubric of "drugs," which can either describe *all* medications, or those that are "narcotics." However, narcotics are pain-killing, sleep-inducing drugs – and marijuana is neither, even though its possession and distribution is controlled (prohibited) by laws that deal with narcotics. Indeed, with the arrival of the so-called "psychedelic drugs" it has become rather an irony that marijuana continues to be severely proscribed by federal law while its far more powerful colleague LSD still enjoys comparative freedom. If by now you are lost, then so are a number of legislators, law enforcement officials, doctors, and edu-

NEXT WEEK

Onward with Updike

by Stanley Kauffmann

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cators who for years have been trying to figure out who takes drugs and what to do about them – that is, both the users and what they use.

Here are two more books – dozens have been written – that again take up the problem, and their titles indicate their concerns: *One in Seven: Drugs on Campus* with the apparently rising interest of college students in (chiefly) psychedelic drugs; and *Narcotics – An American Plan* with a way to solve the many social problems generated by what seems to be an impasse between our addicts and the laws that govern them. The one about college students is repetitive and annoyingly breezy in tone, as if the author at every moment must sound hip and with it and everything else in that line. The one with a plan is appropriately serious, earnest, and when the occasion demands it thoroughly full of statistics and references along with a sharply outlined summary discussion and program. What both books share is a willingness to apply common sense and dispassionate intelligence to an issue usually accorded quite the opposite treatment.

Again and again it must be stressed that drug addiction in America overwhelmingly plagues the poor Negro and Puerto Rican. In the entire country there are about 55,000 known addicts, people who have been arrested or hospitalized. It has been claimed that there actually are four or five times that number. Over half of *all* our addicts live in New York City, and 73 percent of them live in cities and come from what one of the authors calls "minority ethnic groups which account for only 15 percent of our population" – the longest way round to saying Negro I have met in some time. Negroes form a much larger proportion not only of our addicts but our jobless, voteless, moneyless, badly educated and visibly distinctive citizens, most of them packed together in littered alleys and collapsing buildings that have been deserted by other immigrants and are now the property of rats, cockroaches and indeed that last of all "minority ethnic groups."

Who are these addicts and why are they on heroin and morphine? Does some gene, perhaps a race-linked one, drive them to it? Are they neurotic, suffering from any one of the many traumas and hang-ups psychiatrists know so well? Or is what ails them everything from non-addict landlords to non-addict employers and politicians, successors to the addict-free plantation owners whose gentility we all have learned to appreciate?

The very least we can do is stop hounding addicts, three-quarters of whom, I repeat, come from a people whose American experience has already been saturated with abuse. That is what one author suggests: establish community houses where addicts can be treated rather than tracked down and imprisoned; let our government – not as in Britain a random assortment of doctors – sponsor these "houses" or centers, and let all our addicts be registered and identified, so that drugs go only to people whose need is proven; provide drugs free, maintenance doses for those anxious to withdraw; and finally, set in motion the *several* kinds of rehabilitation programs needed. Substitute drugs like methadone are of some aid. Hospitalization for long periods is necessary for many addicts. Psychiatric help is not easy to obtain, must be of a certain (flexible) kind, and even then generally has to come after an individual has been helped to find a certain order and stability in his life. Follow-up programs are absolutely necessary – with relapses treated as such, not as crimes.

Does all that seem too much for a wealthy and presumably rational society? Do we have to keep narcotics racketeers wealthy and slum youths so tired and frustrated that oblivion – and continual stealing to maintain oblivion – is one of the most attractive goals they find available? The questions are not new, but right now there aren't many powerful people in Congress taking an interest in them or answering them with a firm NO.

What *is* more likely to interest our politicians are the faddish drug "trips"

Who Put That Spokesman In My Wheel?

I sing of a man whose last name cannot be revealed for obvious
reasons, but his first name is Timothy,

And to his wife I extend my symathy.

Indeed I am surprised that she has not yet succumbed to a seizure,

But she remains placid even when he ingests her hand lotion believing
it to be milk of magnesia.

He can't distinguish the bathmats from the towels,

And on many a morn he brushes his teeth with shaving cream and smears
toothpaste on his jowels.

Where most wives would create one more scene she creates one less scene

When after forty years of cross-word puzzling he still doesn't know
an esne from an Essene.

In political arguments he is apt to confirm Marx when attempting to
refute Marx,

And when touring he is either getting arrested because he mistakes
the route marks for the speed limit notices or getting lost
because he mistakes the speed limit notices for route marks.

He believes that Beirut is a variant spelling of Bayreuth,

And he doesn't know whether Iran or Iraq held the tent of Omar the poit.

He cannot tell you whether Jakarta rules in Sukarno or Sukarno rules
in Jakarta,

And he has a vague idea that the Parthenon is situated in Sparta.

Although I cannot reveal Timothy's last name you must by now have hit
on his profession as a matter of course;

He is quoted daily in the press as a Highly-placed Authoritative Source.

OGDEN NASH

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and the antics of a very small minority of our college youth. There is a ready market in this country for sly and foreboding news about college youth. Particularly of late many students have demonstrated their idealism and their curious resistance to the blandishments of a society that is – certainly for them – in the chips. Those students, too, may be a minority; but a well-known one they are. For certain people it is a perfect set-up: why not discredit one minority with another, make civil rights workers or peace demonstrators drug-high or worse?

The figure one in seven – who mainly try marijuana – is an admitted conjecture by a young writer who spent a lot of time with what sounds like an underground of students. I am sure that his estimate and his statistical methods – or lack of them – can be discredited on a number of counts. I don't think it really matters exactly how accurate his percentage is, though it is rather flashy (and misleading) to give a raw guess the emphasis of a book's title. The gist of this young observer's message is that more students are giving marijuana a casual try, with most of those who do quickly calling it quits, and only a few proceeding to stronger drugs.

What is one to say? I don't know whether a confusing and frustrating war has driven some fearful youths to a night of escape with drugs. I don't know whether those same youths would abstain from drugs if the energy, the visionary zeal, the passion for excellence frequently available in young people were once again kindled by a President of youth and of sure, dignified and thoughtful courage. I don't know whether some of these youths are merely once again (it is as endless as the generations) drawing the very special pleasure that comes from doing the uncommon or the forbidden. Dances change, and clothes, and even what is pleasurably inhaled – as England learned when tobacco came to signify for some at the time the decline and fall of its culture.

I rather suspect, though, that we are in for no great and convulsive upset (or inspiring upturn, either) from our youthful drug fanciers. What six in seven of the one in seven seem to be is precisely that: students willing to take an exploratory trip to the stars (we are actually going there anyway) but in the clutch tethered firmly to what the psychiatrists obediently call "reality" and the politicians describe with a number of phrases that I imagine a person on drugs might find either hilarious or enough to make one cry.

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Keynes and Keynesism

by Alex Campbell

John Maynard Keynes, A. J. P. Taylor notes in *The Oxford History of England*, "invented most of modern economics." But for a long time the economists would have nothing to do with it. Now, three decades after the appearance of Keynes' masterwork, his *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, they pay lip service to his genius but seem still determined, many of them, to hamstring his ideas. In the only deplorable passage in his otherwise admirable book, Mr. Lekachman gives the appearance of an accomplice, even though other passages make it evident that he is cognizant of the harm that has already been done. It is as if a policeman caught a gang of body-snatchers in the beam of his flashlight, then joined them.

The Age of Keynes
by Robert Lekachman
(Random House; $6)

He says rightly that the *General Theory* is still difficult technical reading even for specialists. But the broad thrust of it, and the philosophy underlying it, are clear enough, particularly as Keynes' final chapter is at pains to spell them out. Keynes was trying to convince his fellow economists, partly by the symbolism of mathematical equations, that in modern capitalist societies serious unemployment is likely to occur, even when unemployed workers are willing to accept lower wages, unless the government actively intervenes. Keynes further argued that the phenomenon was linked with the fact that in modern communities the people who save are not necessarily the ones who invest, and that neither savers nor investors are commonly identifiable with the mass of people who do most of the work and also most of the spending. For a long time, the economists would have nothing to do with ideas that seemed to flout everything they had been taught and were teaching. It was nevertheless a fact that Keynes' basic notions were afloat in many non-specialists' minds and that, while lacking the seal of approval of the economists, they appeared to have the backing of ordinary common sense, which even economists sometimes disregard at their peril.

The *General Theory* was published in 1936; Keynes, however, had priorly discussed it with other British economists at Cambridge, and used its text for his own lectures there. But as early as 1928, Bernard Shaw (to quote only one forerunner of Keynes) had, in *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, put the Keynesian equations into eight little words. "Spare money," Shaw informed housewives, "is the root of all evil." Shaw also observed, less succinctly but, in 1928, no less sapiently: "Although the plea made for capitalism by the professors of the Manchester School was that at least it would always provide the workers with employment at a living wage, it has never either kept that promise or justified that plea."

But Keynes, though he was against unemployment, was for a form of capitalism. He believed that capitalism, with all its faults, could have a tiger in its tank, or rather, two tigers, one called the "multiplier" and the other the "accelerator." Until Keynes came along, most people who condemned capitalism were, like Shaw, socialists who more or less modeled themselves on Marx. Keynes fancied that capitalism could be purged of its defects without becoming socialism. As Lawrence M. Klein has put it, "Marx analyzed the reasons why the capitalist system did not and could not function properly, while Keynes analyzed the reasons why it did not but could function properly."

Keynes' dissociation of his ideas from Marxism was pointed. "How," he demanded, "can I accept a doctrine which sets up as its bible, above and beyond criticism, an obsolete economic text book which I know to be not only scientifically erroneous, but without interest or application for the modern world?" Paul Sweezy, a Marxist, says that Keynes relegated Marx to "a theoretical underworld along with such dubious characters as Silvio Gesell and Major Douglas." It is therefore an irony that when the *General Theory* appeared, other economists, especially American ones, tried very hard to relegate Keynes himself to the underworld where all "radicals" are properly consigned. Long before he became Lord Keynes instead of plain John Maynard, Keynes had shown himself to be an aristocrat (Marx, it may be said in passing, merely married one). Keynes' "Bloomsbury set," consisting of people like Lytton Strachey, Clive Bell, Leonard and Virginia Woolf, were at least intellectual snobs, and Keynes specifically dismissed the working classes as "the boorish proletariat." Perhaps in consequence, Keynes' well-known sarcasm often is a thin wine compared to Marx's grapes of wrath. What is probably the most quoted passage in the *General Theory* is more a reedy undergraduate sound than the trumpeting of a major prophet:

> "Ancient Egypt was doubly fortunate, and doubtless owed to this its fabled wealth, in that it possessed two activities, namely, pyramid-building as well as the search for the precious metals, the fruits of which, since they could not serve the needs of man by being consumed, did not stale with abundance."

It reads like somebody gammoning Gibbon.

In another rhetorical outburst, in May 1944, two years before his death at the age of 63, Keynes tried to sum up his life's work in a speech in the House of Lords. "For the last 20 years," he recalled, "sometimes almost alone, in popular articles in the press, in pamphlets, in dozens of letters to *The Times*, in text books, in enormous and obscure treatises, I have spent my strength to

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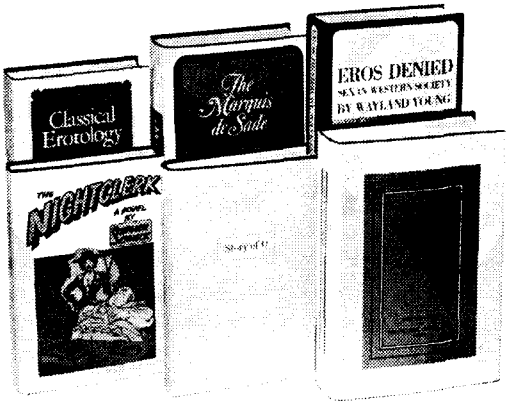

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persuade my countrymen and the world at large to change their traditional doctrines and, by taking better thought, to remove the curse of unemployment." What he didn't say was that, until the Second World War came along, he had very little success. He had booed Winston Churchill for that politician's ghastly performance as Chancellor of the Exchequer, which meant that Keynes' old government job at the Treasury seemed forever closed to him. He expounded his views to Franklin Roosevelt, but FDR wasn't impressed, just as Keynes in turn was disappointed in FDR. He told Frances Perkins he had "supposed the President was more literate, economically speaking"; FDR told her, "I saw your friend Keynes. He left a whole rigmarole of figures. He must be a mathematician rather than a political economist." It was almost as bad as when Keynes met H. G. Wells; instead of swapping ideas about how to reform the world, they bored each other with small talk about why chimpanzees use their knuckles for walking.

"Keynesian economics" became popular with politicians only when a great many people who had never read, and probably never heard of, the *General Theory* nevertheless made clear to their political masters that post-war reversion to mass unemployment would not be tolerated. Unemployment in America, despite the New Deal, was 19 percent in 1938, and was still 14.6 percent even in 1940. But, says Lekachman, "each national administration since World War II's end has tacitly accepted a vital political proposition: the public will not maintain in office a President and a Congress who permit unemployment to rise very high and last very long." So now long live King Keynes – except that Lekachman's statement conceals a joker. Determined attempts are being made to convince the public that between four and seven percent unemployment, the American level in the post-war period, isn't high. People who formerly condemned Keynes as a "radical," for preaching that the "curse of unemployment" could be removed, now argue jollily that of course he was right, but that by "unemployment" he naturally didn't mean just a reasonable number of people being out of work, say three million or so.

Lekachman, no doubt in deference to Sir Roy Harrod's definitive biography of Keynes, devotes about half his book to the post-war period, and writes entirely in terms of American experience. Unwary readers just possibly may not know that other countries have managed to keep unemployment considerably below America's best effort to date. It may or may not be thanks to Keynes that, as the professor says, "most Americans have never had it so good"; but as an honest man he is compelled to add that "possibly 15 to 20 percent of Americans have had it as bad as ever." The thrust of the *General Theory* was that such a state of affairs needn't be, given certain fairly simple steps, some of them connected with redistributing the national income. Otherwise, Keynes suspected that a really drastic cut in unemployment probably required a war to bring it about. Well, we have one; but Vietnam seems to be putting up prices rather than putting down unemployment. And the present capital boom is due to tax cuts which chiefly favor the well-to-do. Would Keynes approve?

The current fashion among economists is to answer blandly that he would neither approve nor disapprove. The Keynesian techniques, says Mr. Lekachman, are neutral. They are "capable of distributing national income either more *or less* equitably, improving the relative bargaining position of either unions or employers, and increasing *or decreasing* the importance of the public sector of the economy. [My italics]. Keynes' personal history and the early affiliation of liberals and radicals with Keynesian doctrine have obscured this vital point." It isn't a new point; Professor Haberler made it years ago, arguing that a tax cut or public works are all the same as far as Keynes' equations are concerned. But it is unfaithful to Keynes.

According to the *General Theory*, the "outstanding fault of the economic system in which we live," besides unemployment, is the "arbitrary and inequitable distribution of wealth and incomes." This, says Keynes, has hitherto been tolerated only because of a belief that "for a large proportion of the growth of capital, we are dependent on the savings of the rich out of their superfluity." That belief is just what Keynes thought he had proved to be not merely untrue, but the precise reverse of the truth. For, in modern conditions of a community's savings being done through institutions, "measures for the redistribution of incomes in a way likely to raise the propensity to consume may prove positively favorable to the growth of capital. . . . Thus our argument leads towards the conclusion that in contemporary conditions the growth of wealth, so far from being dependent on the abstinence of the rich, as is commonly supposed, is more likely to be impeded by it. One of the chief social justifications of great inequality of wealth is therefore removed." There is nothing "neutral" about that, or about Keynes' approving expectation that the state will henceforth be "taking an ever greater responsibility for directly organizing investment."

What Haberler contemptuously called "radical schemes hitched to the Keynes bandwagon" have recently been detached from the *General Theory*, with a vengeance. But why assume that Keynes would approve? What could be more "radical" than direct state control of investment? Would Keynes feel "neutral" about the "new economics"

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being used to justify cutbacks in state spending on public welfare? Lekachman points out, about housing in the United States, that "in relation to need, the administration program is minute, far below Senator Robert A. Taft's goal for a smaller population and a poorer nation two decades ago." Marx was moved by his disciples' misuse of his theories to declare angrily that he was "not a Marxist." Keynes, if he were here to see attempts to appropriate his equations to bolster a preference for regressive tax policies and colonial wars over abolishing slums and unemployment, might disavow Keynesism.

Poets and Their Politics

by Guy Daniels

Sir Maurice Bowra is one of the Seven Wonders of the academic world. Everything about him is prodigious: his linguistic prowess, his labors in the cause of poetry (be it classical or modern, of the East or of the West), and his blind spots. Probably no one else could have given us the cross-sectional view of contemporary poetry that we get in his latest book. Even more probably, no one else could have written a book on *Poetry and Politics: 1900-1960* which virtually ignores: 1) American poetry; 2) all the important poetical-political issues of the century, from the case of Ezra Pound to the poetry of Négritude. (The only such issue discussed – at length and often intelligently, be it said – is a dead issue: that of "proletarian" poetry.) Finally, it is not just probable but certain that no one but Sir Maurice could have written a paragraph like this about Sergei Esenin:

Poetry and Politics: 1900-1960
by C. M. Bowra
(Cambridge; $4.95)

> "He found consolation in drink and the company of the dancer Isadora Duncan, though neither understood the other's language. A visit to the United States with her in the time of Prohibition undermined his health, and the crisis came when he appeared in the hall of the Hôtel Crillon in Paris wearing nothing but a top hat. He returned, much damaged, to Russia, and though for a time his genius revived, he found the scene desperately depressing, and soon after Christmas 1925 hanged himself from the hot water-pipes in the Hôtel Angleterre in Leningrad with the rope of his trunk. As there was no ink available, he wrote before his death a deeply touching poem in his own blood. . . ."

This is funny and campy, but I'm much afraid it's creeping camp – the kind that infiltrates the subconscious of squares. Because, no more than Herbert Marshall (whose hopelessly muddled Mayakovsky versions he so much admires), does Sir Maurice really intend to make sport of Esenin's suicide. He is being serious here – and quite impervious to black humor of his own making.

It was this same lack of *risibilitas* which enabled him to write, a few years ago, an essay on Lermontov in which he said that superb satirist could not put into his writing the wit he displayed in conversation. The Russians to whom I have quoted this comment simply refuse to believe it was ever made. And no wonder. For among the most delightful of all "treasures of Russian wit and humor" are two of Lermontov's narrative poems: *The Tambov Treasurer's Wife* and *Sashka*.

If I have dwelt at some length on Sir Maurice's blind spots (and baby, you know I have!) it is because scope of vision is precisely what occupies him throughout much of his book. Constantly bobbing up in the course of these four essays is the question as to whether, now that poetry in general has become so "introvert and specialized," political poetry can recover the broad range it had not so very long ago.

"Political poetry" in our century is the express subject of Sir Maurice's book; and he defines that poetry as one that "deals with events which concern a large number of people and can be grasped not as immediate, personal experience but as matters largely known from hearsay and presented in simplified and often abstract forms." One may perhaps dissent from this definition; and one may object to the basic method of cutting up poems along the dotted line. But with Sir Maurice's general account of the progress of "political" or "public" poetry in our century – given his definition – there can be little argument. Indeed, I have so little argument with the oft-told tale of proletarian poetry which makes up Sir Maurice's last essay, that I suggest we simply forget it.

For that matter, we may as well forget the third essay, called "The Private Vision," which has to do with the movement, in modern poetry, from "conscious majesty and a cosmic outlook" to "the careful presentation of private sensations and states of mind." There are some good things in the essay – perceptive remarks on Quasimodo, Ungaretti, and even Mao Tse-tung. But many of the poems discussed are in fact so private as to elude completely Sir Maurice's definition of "political poetry" ("matters largely known from

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hearsay," etc.) and hence have no place in a book on that subject.

At the front of the book, the piece entitled "The Change of Attitude" also starts off in a familiar vein, the change in question being that from the broad, comfortable assumptions of the Victorians toward a more critical, and more personal, treatment of public themes. This shift, as we know, was largely due to the eruption of war after the Long Peace: to the brutal confrontation between the pipe-dream patriotism of the late 19th Century and the realities of 20th-Century battlefields.

The tale is familiar – but only in part; and the telling of it is not routine. In illustrating the "change of attitude," many a less cosmopolitan critic would have gone straight from "The Charge of the Light Brigade" to the war poems of Sassoon and Owen, and then hauled up short with a "Q.E.D." But Sir Maurice, good comparativist that he is, does not oversimplify. He reminds us that the initiator of this whole trend – though not always acknowledged as such – was Rimbaud, with his poetic snapshots made during the Franco-Prussian War. He sees signs of the future in both Hardy's and Kipling's poems on the death of King Edward VII in 1910. And he notes that since Russia was the first nation to be staggered by the "brutal confrontation" in the 20th Century (in 1905, when she was defeated by Japan), her poets were among the first to make the "agonizing reappraisal."

The account of the "change of attitude" in Russia tends to overlap with the second essay, "Prophets and Seers," because most of the Russian poets wrote in a prophetic vein. Soloviev and Bely, for instance, when they abandoned the outworn myths about Holy Russia, replaced them with their own, private, apocalyptic visions. And even Blok, after downgrading Mother Russia to the status of a wife toward whom his feelings were distinctly ambivalent, remained something of a seer. Still, there were other modernist poets in Russia who, while not necessarily prophetic, worked in their own ways to replace the conventional angles of vision. Among them were Anna Akhmatova and Osip Mandel'shtam, both of whom took a wait-and-see attitude toward the Revolution – an attitude nowhere better expressed than in Mandel'shtam's Chaucerian image:

> Why does the rooster, announcing a new life
> From the top of the city wall, flap his wings?

Sir Maurice credits most of the Russian poets discussed in this first essay, together with such English contemporaries as Hardy and Sassoon, with greatly improving "public" poetry – bringing to it a more personal note and a "keener sense of truth," while yet keeping much of the "spaciousness" of such older posts as Hugo, Carducci, and Tennyson. Yet their poetry was still not completely modern:

> "Just because it is regular and rhythmical, it cannot fully reflect chaotic or erupting moods; because it employs an educated speech, it may lack something in forcefulness; because it keeps its imagery within accepted bounds, it is never explosive."

Greater freedom of form was required to accommodate those "bizarre, horrifying, squalid, or ludicrous elements" that a truly modern poetics must encompass. Or so Sir Maurice believes. And he concludes his first essay with some exemplars of new and freer techniques: Mayakovsky and Trakl, followed (chronologically) by Apollinaire and Pound – with Rimbaud once again the common ancestor.

The prophetic poetry which flourished so suddenly in the first decades of the century, only to wither away in the arid climate of science triumphant, is given what Sir Maurice would call "a handsome treatment" in his second essay. Most of this poetry originated in Russia, Germany, and the British Isles: in the Latin countries, the Roman Church, it seems, still had a monopoly on prophecy.

Russia was especially prolific in prophets, even producing a few who, by exception to the old rule, did not always predict doom. Mayakovsky, for instance, gave the world an extravagant preview of the Communist Millennium in his spectacle-play, *Mystery-Bouffe*, which on one occasion was produced "with a cast of thousands" *à la* C. B. DeMille. Blok, even though frequently torn by doubts both before and after the Revolution, paid tribute to it in his great visionary poem, *The Twelve*. And even some of the poets violently opposed to Communism were "glad prophets." Nikolay Gumilev was a confirmed anti-Bolshevik who was shot as an alleged conspirator in 1921. Yet shortly before his death he could write:

> So my heart will burn and mind condemn,
> Till the glorious day when there will stand
> Golden walls of New Jerusalem
> In the pastures of my native land.

The translation is Sir Maurice's, and it is somewhat in the manner of Robert Lowell; *e.g.*, the critical phrase "and mind condemn" is not in the original: it has been supplied by the translator, along with a few less damaging items ("glorious," "golden," and so on). Still, since Sir Maurice does not follow Lowell's practice to the extent of changing the entire meaning of a stanza

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Nancy and John Seletti aren't trying to save the world. Just a little piece of it.

About a mile outside the Korean village of Ku Am there are a few dozen young, still-tender mulberry trees growing on a small hill. Someday these trees and their succulent leaves will be the heart of a new village industry—a silk raising farm. That day is still many months off, but it doesn't stop the village men from making daily inspection treks up the steep hill, just in case. Just in case something miraculous has happened since yesterday. After all, it wouldn't be the first miracle to happen in Ku Am. Everyone in the village knows the story of Chang Sook, the daughter of the widow.

Ten years ago Chang Sook's chances of survival were as slim as she was. Her father had disappeared during the family's flight from North Korea. Her mother, a seamstress, worked a backbreaking day and most of the evening to earn $10 a month. Barely enough to keep them from starving.

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Through Save the Children Federation, the Seletti's $15 a month is doing a remarkable number of things. First, Chang Sook's immediate needs and future schooling are being taken care of. The family is getting help, too: Enough to enable Chang Sook's mother to start a small knit shop.

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(or a poem), the general drift and gist are here intact. And though the passage is not Gumilev at his best, it does show the kind of courage he had.

Against this anomaly of Utopian poetry in strife-torn Russia, we may contrast the generally dark hues in the poetry of Yeats, George, Bryusov, Ivanov, Edith Sitwell, and the other key figures in this essay. Sir Maurice's account of their work differs in one important respect from his treatment of the former. On the aesthetic level, he admires both impartially, and writes equally well – sometimes brilliantly – of them. And here, by the way, his characterization of modern prophetic poetry is masterful. But when he ventures – as he often does – to keep tab on their predictions as such, something different happens. Toward the yea-sayers, he is sometimes encouraging ("If Mayakovsky's prayer has not yet been fully answered, it is not totally impossible that it will be. . . .") but never more than that. Toward the "prophets of doom," however, he has no such ambivalence: they were right, and that's that.

Sir Maurice is quite unequivocal about this. Yeats "saw many of his prophecies fulfilled." Edith Sitwell, "writing in 1929, saw the barbarism below the surface and foretold that it could end only in destruction. To this degree the Second World War proved her right. . . ." And his last comment on Cavafy's anti-prophetic poem, "Waiting for the Barbarians," is: "Yet, though Cavafy had common sense on his side, it was not he but the prophets who were right."

How strange, then, that he should suddenly about-face and disown *both* kinds of prophetic poetry! And it is even stranger that, after having written so well about them, he should dismiss them in the feeble clichés of a functional sociologist:

> "We miss the conviction and the majesty with which Blok and Yeats treated the human predicament, and to this extent we may feel that poetry has lost something in ultimate urgency and that nothing is as wonderful as we once thought. *Yet this is not the right diagnosis.* Things are *just as serious* as they always were, but *we look at them differently and explain them by other means.* We may find ourselves encompassed by a darkness which we cannot pierce, but that is no reason why we should not have a *positive policy* for it. In the end this means that *we must dispense with forecasts and promises* and *accept the moment as it is. . . .*" (Italics mine throughout.)

For myself, I'm not sure how much it matters whether the "forecasts" of a Yeats pan out. (He is not, after all, The Weather Man.) But Sir Maurice *is* sure. Then why, if they have so amply been proven right, must we "dispense with forecasts and promises"? Because, as Sir Maurice says several times, prophetic poetry "no longer appeals to the modern spirit."

With this remarkable veering-about we come full circle – but in a way Sir Maurice could not have intended. The main point of his book is that the modern poet is much to be praised because he "makes no concessions to any public belief and speaks entirely for himself. . . ." In so doing, he has advanced far beyond the Victorians, who

> ". . . Instead of setting a standard to which readers were expected to confirm . . . accommodated themselves to what readers felt or were expected to feel, and in so doing came near to being dishonest with themselves by advocating tawdry, vulgarized sentiments."

Some of our critics, I fear, are still Victorians – in more ways than one.

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The Brahmins and the Ballot Box

by Gerald W. Johnson

One of the stalest clichés in political comment is the observation that when a young American runs for any office from township constable up, he is already half elected if his family name happens to be Roosevelt, Taft, Lodge or (recently) Kennedy. The common inference is that we are developing a ruling class that, in the not distant future, will monopolize elective office, or at least high office, in the republic.

American Political Dynasties
by Stephen Hess
(Doubleday; $7.95)
The Time Between the Wars
by Jonathan Daniels
(Doubleday; $6.50)

Mr. Hess, accepting this theory in gross if not in detail, has undertaken to examine the dynastic aspects of this development. He is not interested in the Melchizedeks, without (political) ancestry or posterity, although they include such dazzling figures as Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, and Wilson. By what must have been Herculean labor he has sorted out the American families that have sent at least three members to Congress each bearing the family name – a necessary restriction, as otherwise Franklin D. Roosevelt could be attributed to at least 25 or 30 families, and Theodore probably to as many, the result of intermarriage in a very long American ancestry. Mr. Hess lists 155 American families with three congressmen; and of these 22 have had more than three. The 22 he accords the name of dynasties, although eight, such as the Carrolls of Maryland and the Hoars of Massachusetts, have long since faded out of public life. This leaves 14 American families to each of which he has devoted a sketchy, yet informative and amusing, even rollicking chapter.

Mr. Hess is plain-spoken, but no scandalmonger. He includes Blackhorse as well as Light-horse Harry

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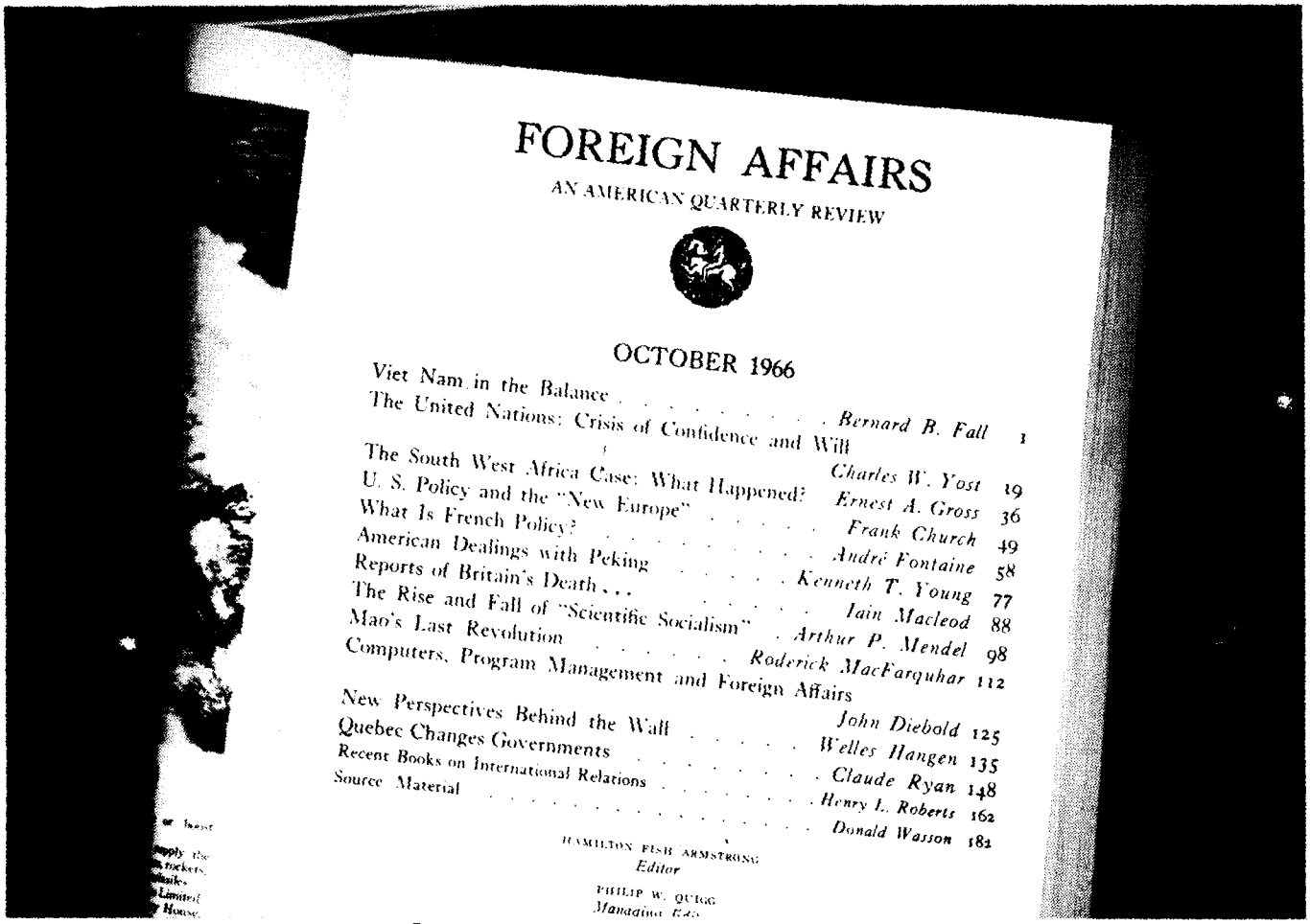
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among the Lees, and Richard, as well as John, among the Randolphs. The crimes, and even the foibles that punctuate his narrative, are all authenticated, not merely malicious gossip.

But that he makes his point remains a question. Out of some 10,000 persons elected to Congress, he finds that 700 families furnished 1,700, an average of less than two-and-a-half per family, not a particularly impressive record. The twin pillars of a dynasty are wealth and birth. Neither can support it alone. As for birth, it may be that in Boston

> The Lowells talk only to Cabots
> And the Cabots talk only to God,

and that in New Haven

> God talks to Jones in the very same tones
> That he uses to Hadley and Dwight,

but neither Lowell, Cabot, Hadley, nor Dwight has talked effectively to the electorate. As for wealth, no Astor, Vanderbilt, Gould, or Morgan has done much political ruling and Rockefeller and Harriman have appeared only in this generation, Rockefeller in this book as one of the family of Aldrich. Both pillars are weakened, inherited wealth by the end of primogeniture, and birth by popular sovereignty.

Yet the brute fact remains that a political name is an asset to an otherwise unknown candidate. The explanation may be semantic. We recognize a ruling group, but as a caste, not a class. Class is status, caste is function. If the Brahmin specializes in praying and the Kshatriya in fighting it stands to reason that each will develop an *expertise* that may, although not must, pass to his son. John Quincy Adams, standing by while his father argued with Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, certainly started life knowing more politics than did a boy from a family in which the dinner-table conversation was of theology, literature, or business. The remarkable thing is that he was such a bad politician. Yet even as a caste the ruling group is probably broader, relatively as well as absolutely, today than it was in the administration of President Washington.

In short, Mr. Hess has not written of dynasties. He has written of political families, amusingly and instructively, although carelessly – he names the author of Squatter Sovereignty Stephen B. Douglas, has one Muhlenberg fighting at Monmouth Court House, not Guilford, and another, in a footnote, born in 1872 and fighting at Antietam. But bad copy reading is a minor blemish in an exceedingly readable book.

Mr. Daniels, it is to be feared, has written an excellent book to no purpose, or certainly not to his own purpose. His political and social history of the Long Armistice is pungent, amusing and informative even to one who lived through it. To a younger generation it might open up a whole new world, strongly colored and glittering.

But what of that? Mr. Daniels mentions, in a couple of paragraphs, that Franklin D. Roosevelt for many years was more than half in love with a woman not his wife. Any scandal that attaches to this must be read in. It is not in the text. It is Mr. Daniels' belief that the affair, if it ever amounted to an affair, ended in 1918, two years before Roosevelt's nomination for the Vice Presidency made him a national figure, and three years before his crippling illness.

It is, no doubt, significant of Roosevelt's dominance of the imagination of his own generation that the slightest new item about him tends to obliterate anything else that may be written in the same book. Yet even if no one listens, is it only just to report that this book, a contribution to the Mainstream of America Series, edited for Doubleday by Lewis Gannett, presents an unusually happy conjunction of author and theme. Daniels is first and foremost a sharp-eyed observer of the passing show, and never has the show been gaudier or more packed with thrills than the period that included the Jazz Age, the Depression, the New Deal, and the Dance of Death into the abyss of World War II.

The book attempts no more than to catch the highlights of the period, but this it does wittily, rapidly, and in the main justly, although there are enough drops of vinegar to bring out the flavor of the combination. It is not, nor does it pretend to be definitive history; but for the casual reader it is an excellent guidebook through a period of vast confusion, a Baedeker staring the points that may be worth a stay for further exploration.

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ART

A King's Collection

First under the wire for the new art season is the National Gallery of Art, Washington, with a lovely exhibition of Chinese art from the personal collection of the king of Sweden, Gustaf VI Adolf. The Swedish king is different from other royal collectors. Most of them are born into the trade as they are into the marriage market, but Gustaf, the cooperative and committed king of a socialist country, is a self-made art collector. He is also an archeologist of some distinction, having begun his scholarly career at the beginning of the century in diggings at ancient Swedish sites around Uppsala and the market-capital town on Lake Malar, and having now for decades participated in Etruscan diggings in Italy. His life in scholarship has been in marked contrast to that of his father, the celebrated octogenarian tennis player. Gustaf Adolf was Crown Prince for 43 years and all that time, while the then king was getting them back over the net for the eyes and the ears of Fox Movietone, the prince was making a modest name for himself in his several fields of interest and building up what is evidently his truest love, a choice collection, some 2,400 pieces of Chinese materials. The show at Washington contains 150 of these. The future king was also giving support to Swedish Asiatic scholarship and helping to found Stockholm's Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. In that building one innovation is his own, the room for paintings. Scrolls and other paintings are mounted on sliding panels which pull out, one or two at a time, to adapt the traditional Chinese style of looking at art to Western manners. In Chinese scholarship proper, Gustaf Adolf has, in the last ten years, completed a chronology for jades from the first millennium A.D. He is now engaged, with complete absorption, on the same complicated task for carved rhinoceros horns, a sub-field in which little work has been done.

Chinese Art from the Collection of H.M. Gustaf VI Adolf of Sweden
Washington, D. C. through October 9
Minneapolis from November 5
New York City from January 5
Cleveland from March 1
San Francisco from May 1
Kansas City from June 23
Stockholm August, 1967

Gustaf VI Adolf has been king since 1950. He is now 83. At first thought and at first visit to the royal collection unpretentiously but attractively housed in the living quarters of the palace at Stockholm, it is easy to read a certain social appropriateness into the ancient preoccupations of the king of a welfare state, especially if the king is himself an old man, regardless of his evident vigor and zest. Swedish life pours on its welfare way, leaving the ancient royalty to retreat ever further into the past and into a kind of twilight Eliotic communion with the abstract shapes and weights of long lost wheels and clays.

Nothing could be further from the truth of the king's situation in socialist Sweden. He is consulted by his ministers, who behave as if they really were his ministers as well as the people's. The whole arrangement is different in fact from the English one it seems to resemble. The king somehow does participate in the process of government and does so without violation of democratic principle. He represents the past in the present and does so much more effectively than any other constitutional monarch in the business.

In the view of a number of Stockholm observers, however, the king's cultural interests and specifically his Chinese studies are also directed to the present and future of Sweden and the world. The country's historic neutrality, established in World War I and confirmed in World War II at the cost of a still enduring strain in the natural Scandinavian association of nations, has always been concerned not with merely remaining above the strife – any strife; there is always enough of it to go around – but more actively in bringing it to an end. In acting as some kind of go-between in power confrontations. Such a role the Swedes could very easily undertake now. In all the West they are the nationality able to move most freely within China. Swedish scholarly journals and personal contacts are a major source for American students of Chinese art and archeology. To some measurable extent, this is due to the half-century-old involvement of Gustaf VI Adolf in the art of the vast country.

On the domestic scene, as the oldest permanent floating welfare state in existence, Sweden is now actively facing the problems of an affluence that really does stretch forth its sheltering hand to all. There are many signs that the country is ready to move beyond welfare into artistic consumership. The king therefore is in an extraordinarily well-prepared position to deal with the problems of cultural realization as they arise, due to his own life-long involvement in the life of the intellect and of the aesthetic faculties. A very great deal of the welfare apparatus we now take for granted or hope soon to be able to was made in Sweden, including the escape hatch of the ombudsman for the citizen baffled and frustrated by the bureaucracy inevitable in welfarism. It is not far-fetched to imagine that we shall, in decades ahead, be similarly borrowing apparatus for the cultural welfare state of the future.

The collection now beginning its American tour, which is also its first public viewing anywhere, is probably the most nearly comprehensive and yet select assemblage of Chinese material currently in existence as the product of private, individual enterprise. The stress throughout is upon the beauty of the individual piece. The scope is total – except for paintings – from the Shang or Yin period beginning in the 16th Century B.C. through Han, T'ang, Sung, Ming and all the lesser known dynasties to the end of Ch'ing

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in 1912. Throughout this immense stretch of time the continuities shape the changing face of Chinese art so that the constant is always evident. The selection and display of the king's collection stresses the relations between pieces separated in time, so that the infinite variety of Chinese art appears within a guiding spirit never pushed beyond its limits. Austerity and restraint manifest themselves no less in the rococo-like maze of Ch'ing decoration – already anticipated in incised carvings of stylized dragons a millennium earlier – than in the classic shapes and delicate shadings of stoneware.

The Chinese, we are again reminded, never did make the distinction upon which rests so much of modern Western art, between the beautiful and the useful. The distinction is without meaning when confronted with the bronzes and jades that were once articles of daily convenience.

It is perhaps odd, but it may be no less efficacious for a widespread American confrontation with one of the enduring realities of China to take place, over the next year, thanks to the courtesy of the king of Sweden.

Frank Getlein

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Unhappy Burma

Sirs:

What Richard Butwell fails to convey in his report on Burma (September 3) is a sense of the tyranny and terror which have made that unhappy country one gigantic concentration camp.

Butwell reports only "mild discontent." The scores of thousands of refugees who have streamed across the Thai border and the additional thousands of freedom-loving Shans, Kachins, Karens and Burmans who have taken up arms in open revolt are a better index of the true state of affairs.

The Indian community, which never "dominated" the Burmese economy, has left because their only choice was penniless departure or starvation.

Butwell implies that only a few political leaders have been "kept in detention." Thousands of lesser democratic leaders are also in military concentration camps, in Hitler-like "protective custody," without trial. According to recent reports, some 100-1,000 additional arrests last spring included the wives of Ba Swe and Kyaw Nyein. Also arrested was Mrs. Yan Naing, daughter of former Premier Ba Maw, together with her four-month-old infant son. A family member resident here affirms that her family have been denied permission to send medical and infant food packages for the baby.

Louis J. Walinsky
Chevy Chase, Md.

Mark Twain on War

Sirs:

In his letter of 3 September, Remington Rose reports on the "ugliness and hate" that met a peace rally in Brattleboro, Vermont, "in the cradle of the Town Meeting." Mark Twain, almost sixty years ago, wrote the following passage in "The Mysterious Stranger" (1907):

> "There has never been a just [war], never an honorable one – on the part of the instigator of the war. I can see a million years ahead, and this rule will never change in so many as half a dozen instances. The loud little handful – as usual – will shout for the war. The pulpit will – warily and cautiously – object – at first; the great, big, dull, bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly, 'It is unjust and dishonorable, and there is no necessity for it.' Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will

Notes on Contributors

Ogden Nash *is the author of numerous books of light verse.* Guy Daniels, *who has just published translations of Lermontov, Krilov and Tolstoy, is working on a volume of Mayakovsky.*

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argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and be applauded; but it will not last long; these others will outshout them, and presently the anti-war audiences will thin out and lose popularity. Before long you will see this curious thing: the speakers stoned from the platform, and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in their secret hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers – as earlier – but do not dare to say so. And now the whole nation – pulpit and all – will take up the war-cry, and shout itself hoarse, and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth; and presently such mouths will cease to open. Next the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of those conscience-soothing falsities, and will diligently study them, and refuse to examine any refutations of them; and thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just, and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception."

Maxwell E. Siegel
New York, N.Y.

Black Power

Sirs:

It is time for honest whites to acknowledge that the concept of black power is necessary and long overdue.

In New York, for example, despite a decade of peaceful civil rights protest, still another lost generation is growing up imprisoned behind ghetto walls.

We cannot deny that white power is used every day in this city to keep black New Yorkers in their place – in black jobs, black schoolrooms and black neighborhoods.

Now at last our black fellow-citizens are telling us they are tired of begging. They are telling us that if we refuse to reckon with their humanity, we must reckon with their power. In view of the violence we do each day to the spirits of black men, black women and black children, let us not be surprised if their power proves to be almost as ugly as ours.

Merrill Martin
New York, N.Y.

Man on Methadone

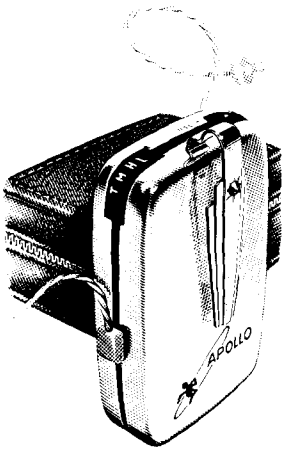
Sirs:

I am writing about an article in your magazine called "Stoned on Methadone" (August 13) in which my name is mentioned.

I have been on the Methadone program approximately five months and to date, me and more important, my people, are very satisfied with my reactions to it. Since being on the program I have worked and finished building a school in Flushing with a construction corporation. I am a concrete laborer and as of now I'm in East New York, for Muratore Brothers.

I expect to be here at least two years and want to note that this is very hard work and I wouldn't be able to do this work if I were hooked on heroin.

I have no idea exactly how much Methadone I am getting, but for someone to make a statement that I am taking 900 milligrams daily and am walking around like a mummy is completely misinformed. True, if I were taking that much Methadone I most likely would act like a mummy or worse I



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actually would be a mummy. That much Methadone would probably kill a normal person. Being I'm very much alive the statement is completely false. I therefore demand it retracted immediately if not sooner.

My whole life history is on record so I won't go into detail. I just know for sure that I have ruined the past twelve years of my life by using heroin and do not want to ruin it any further.

Therefore I was fortunate enough to get on this program and my family likes the change in me, or should I say, they like the normalness of me. Even more important, my parole officer knows all about the program and what we are trying to do and they consent to me being on it, so you can see, I'm staying out of prison and am trying to lead a productive life in society. In fact, if it were up to me, I would put every confirmed drug addict on this program. Not only would it be a great help to each and every individual, but I honestly believe it would eliminate the illicit drug market to a great degree, and last but not least it would cut down on the high rate of crime in this state.

Finally we come to the problem at hand. Here we are in the good old USA a free country where good people, educated and highly trained physicians are constantly researching to help the poor unfortunate with all kinds of diseases. And drug addiction is most certainly one of them. I don't understand how it is possible for an editor of any kind of paper or magazine such as this *New Republic* magazine to write about anyone without his permission. Here the people from *The New Republic* took the words of someone who doesn't even know me beyond saying hello, and print about me several things that I complain are complete lies. Some justification has got to be made. My life hasn't been ruined enough with truth, now it has to be exposed to lies. Must I say more? Everything I say is true and can be proven in a court of law. Why you people wrote something from someone who appears to be a very incompetent person is beyond me.

That matter at hand is my name being used falsely without my permission. I therefore would be deeply grateful if you would correct this mistake immediately. . . .

John V Scalza
Bronx, N.Y.

Back to the Train

Sirs:

As a motoring enthusiast, I was quite interested in the ideas expressed by Mr. Sol Weber in your issue of August 27. In his letter, Mr. Weber advocates electrified highways with driverless cars following each other along an electric rail. I must remind Mr. Weber that his idea is not original, for I recall seeing in my youth such a phenomenon in daily use. We called it a train.

Unfortunately, too many persons, like Mr. Weber, forget that there are alternatives to driving oneself from place to place. And too many of the cars cluttering up American highways are propelled by persons who admittedly hate driving.

How about a campaign to get all those carriage passengers out of the driving seat (where they hate it anyway) and into a railroad car? How nice it would be to share the highways with only those who like to be there!

Harold Gotthelf
Rego Park, N.Y.

Where the Action Isn't

Sirs:

Richard L. Hanlin's article on one Job Corps Camp ("Where the Action Isn't," September 10) seems to point up the rather limited role of Corps "Counselors"; Office of Economic Opportunity literature regarding conservation centers describes two kinds of counselors – guidance counselors and deputies for education and counseling. Both call for masters degrees or their equivalents and backgrounds in education, guidance, and/or social work. Given Mr. Hanlin's vivid and illuminating account, these standards seem unrealistic, artificial, and probably self-defeating. An unencumbered, understanding high school graduate with military experience could well be a really effective, esteemed "night counselor." On the other hand, a social worker may feel his training is irrelevant in terms of breaking up fights, recruiting stool pigeons, and admonishing new corpsmen to keep their hands out of their pockets. . . .

Robertson Rushton
Philadelphia, Penna.

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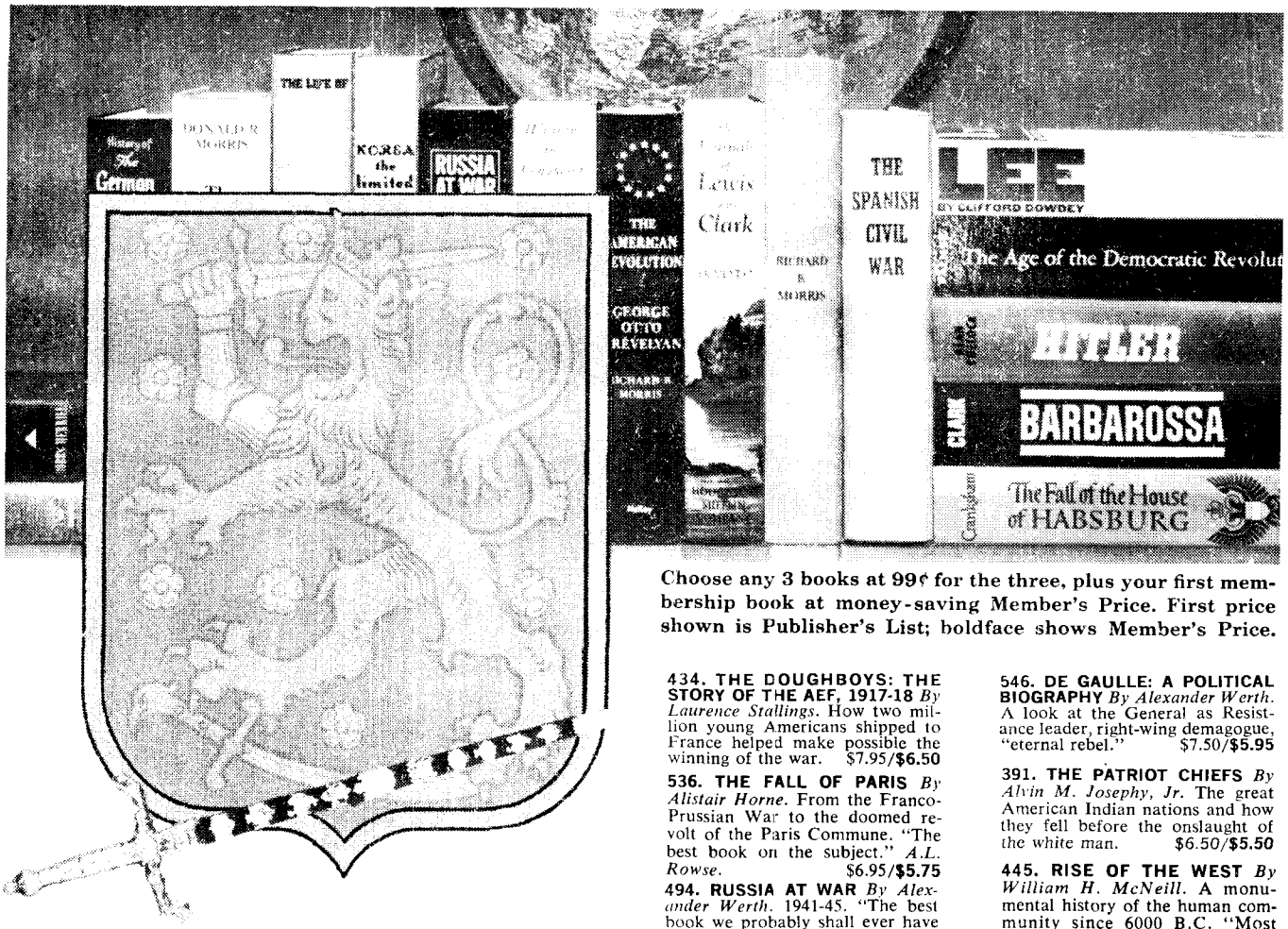

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